

FRAGMENTS

RELATING TO THE

LATE REVOLUTIONS

IN

I N D I A,

THE DEATH OF

COUNT LALLY,

AND THE PROSECUTION OF

COUNT DE MORANGIES.

Translated from the French of M. de VOLTAIRE.

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FRAGMENTS
RELATING TO
SOME REVOLUTIONS
IN
INDIA,
AND THE DEATH OF
COUNT LALLY.

ARTICLE I.
*A historical account of the Commerce
of India.*

Impiger extremos curris, mercator ad Indos,
Per mare, pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes.
Hor. Epist. lib. I.

FROM the time that India became a
little known to the Barbarians of the
West and North, it was the object of their
rapacious desires; and excited yet more the
B thirst

thirst of conquest, when these Barbarians, improving in refinement and industry, had created to themselves new wants.

Scarce had they passed the African coast when they made war against twenty nations of India, concerning whom they knew not before so much as that they existed. The Albuquerque and their successors could not attain to the furnishing Europe with pepper and cotton stuff, but by means of blood and slaughter.

Our Europeans discovered America for no other purpose than to render it the scene of desolation and carnage. By these they procured the cocoa-nut, indigo, and sugar, the cane of which was exported from Europe into the hot climates of this new world. They brought over from thence some other commodities, particularly the quinquina : but they contracted in that country a disease as terrible as it is shameful and universal, and for which that bark of a Peruvian tree can afford no remedy.

With respect to the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico, the public have not reaped the least advantage from them ; because it absolutely

tutely amounts to the same thing whether the necessaries of life be purchased with a hundred marks, or with one mark. It would even redound much to the benefit of mankind that they had but little of those metals which represent the articles of trade; because commerce would then be conducted with greater facility. The truth of this proposition has been clearly demonstrated. The first possessors of mines become richer than others almost immediately, having in their hands a greater quantity of the means of exchange; but the people who sell them their commodities will not fail to raise the price in proportion. In a short time an equality is established, and the people that is most industrious becomes in effect the richest.

All the world knows what a vast and unfortunate empire the kings of Spain acquired in the two extremities of the globe, without stirring out of their palace; how much gold, and silver, and precious merchandize Spain imported into Europe, without becoming more opulent; and to what a degree she extended her dominion by depopulating herself.

The history of the great Dutch settlements

in India is sufficiently known, as well as those of the English colonies, which at this day extend from Jamaica to Hudson's Bay; that is, from near the tropic to the neighbourhood of the pole.

The French, who were late in obtaining a share of the new world, have lost by the war of 1756, and by the peace, all the acquisitions they had made on the continent of North America, where they possessed a territory about fifteen hundred leagues in length, and seven or eight hundred in breadth. This immense and miserable country was prodigiously burdensome to the state, and the loss of it has been yet more fatal.

Almost all these vast dominions, these expensive establishments, and the wars undertaken to maintain them, have been the consequence of the effeminacy of our cities, and the avidity of the merchants, rather than the ambition of the sovereigns.

It is to furnish the tables of the burghesses of Paris, London, and other great cities, with more spiceries than were formerly consumed at the tables of princes; it is to load the common citizens wives with more diamonds

monds than queens have carried at their coronation; it is to poison their nostrils with a nasty powder; to soak themselves, out of whim, with certain uselefs liquors, unknown to our ancestors; it is for these purposes that an immense commerce has been established, always disadvantageous to three fourths of Europe; and it is to support this commerce that the powers have entered into wars, in which the first cannon that is discharged in our climates kindles all the batteries in America and the remotest parts of Asia. People are always complaining of taxes, and often with the greatest reason; but we never reflect that the heaviest and most troublesome tax is that which we impose upon ourselves by our new delicacies, which are become wants, and are in fact a ruinous luxury, though we do not distinguish them by that name.

It is certain that ever since the voyage of Vasco de Gama, who first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, it has been merchants who have changed the face of the earth.

The Japanese, having experienced the restless and avaricious spirit of some of our European nations, have been happy and

powerful enough to shut all their ports against them, and to admit annually but one vessel belonging to an inconsiderable people, whom they treat with a degree of severity and contempt *, which that inconsiderable people only is capable of suffering, though extremely powerful in the East Indies.

The inhabitants of the vast peninsula of India have had neither the power nor the good fortune of securing themselves, like the Japanese, from foreign invasions. Their maritime provinces have been for more than two hundred years the theatre of our wars.

The successors of the Bramins, of those inventors of so many arts, of those lovers and supreme disposers of peace, are become our factors, our mercenary negociators. We have laid waste their country, we have fattened it with our blood. We have shewn how much we surpass them in courage and wickedness, and how much we are their inferiors in wisdom. Our European nations have mutually destroyed each other in that

* It is true that in the beginning of the revolution of 1638, they obliged the Dutch like others to tread upon the crucifix.

very country whither we went only in search of money, and which was visited by the ancient Greeks for no other purpose than that of receiving instruction.

The Dutch East India company had already made rapid progress, and that of England was established, when in 1604 Henry the Great, contrary to the advice of the duke of Sully, granted an exclusive privilege of trading to the Indies, to a company of merchants who were more interested than opulent, and by no means capable of supporting themselves. The only thing they obtained was letters-patent, and they remained inactive.

In 1642 Cardinal Richlieu created a kind of East India Company; but it was ruined in a few years. These attempts seemed to indicate that the genius of the French was not so well adapted to these enterprises as that of the attentive and frugal Hollanders, or as the bold, enterprising, and determined spirit of the English.

Louis XIV. who pursued every course that led to the glory and advantage of his nation, founded, in 1664, by the diligence of Louis XIV. who pursued every course that led to the glory and advantage of his nation, founded, in 1664, by the diligence of

Establishment of an India Company in France.

the immortal Colbert, a powerful East India Company. He granted it the most advantageous privileges, and assisted it with four millions of livres out of the public treasury, which at this day would make about eight millions. But the capital and credit of the company declined from year to year, and it was almost entirely ruined by the death of Colbert. The town of Pondichery, on the coast of Coromandel, was taken by the Dutch in 1693. A colony established at Madagascar was totally destroyed.

What has been considered as the principal cause of the ruin of this commerce, before the loss of Pondichery, was the avarice of some of the governors in India, the continual jealousies among them, private interest, which is always opposed to the public good, and the vanity of making a splendid appearance, a fault with which the nation has been often reproached,

We have seen with our own eyes, in 1719, by what an amazing trick this company revived out of its ashes. The chimerical system of Law, which overthrew all the fortunes, and exposed France to the greatest calamity, had

had however the effect of inspiring the spirit of commerce with fresh vigour. They rebuilt the edifice of the East India company with the rubbish of this system. It appeared immediately in as flourishing a condition as that of Holland; but it was in effect only in great preparations, in magazines, and in fortifications, either at Pondichery, or in the town and port of l'Orient in Brittany, that the French ministry granted them assistance, and that they corresponded with their capital in India. It had a specious appearance; but with respect to real profit, produced by trade, it never made any. During sixty years, it afforded not one dividend from the sale of merchandize. It paid neither the stockholders nor any of its debts in France, except nine millions which the King had granted it by the year on the farm of tobacco: so that in effect it was always the king who paid for it.

Some of the company's military officers, and some industrious factors, acquired riches in India; but the company itself wasted in splendor, while these individuals amassed some treasure. It is not very consistent with the principles of human nature for people to
for-

forſake their own country, to tranſport themſelves among a people whoſe manners are entirely oppoſite to their own, whoſe language it is difficult to underſtand, and to ſpeak it well impoſſible, to expoſe their health in a climate for which they were not born; in a word, to be employed in raiſing fortunes to the merchants of the capital, without entertaining a ſtrong deſire of making their own. Such has been the ſource of the ſeveral diſaſters.

ARTICLE II.

The commencement of the troubles in India, and of the animosity between the French and Engliſh companies.

COMMERCE, the great band of ſociety, becoming an object of war, and a motive to deſtroy, the chief mandataries of the French and Engliſh companies, appointed by their conſtituents under the title of governors, aſſumed in a ſhort time the authority of generals of the army. They appeared

peared in India with all the dignity of princes; they made war and peace sometimes among themselves, and sometimes with sovereigns of those countries.

Whoever is a little conversant in history ^{The go-} knows, that, since the time of Gengiskan, ^{vernment} and probably long before that period, ^{of the} the Mogul. empire of the Mogul had been subject to the feudal form of government; the same almost with that which prevails in Germany, such as for many years was established among the Lombards, the Spaniards, the English likewise, and the French, and in almost all the states of Europe; the ancient administration of the conquering Scythians and Tartars, who have poured their inundations over the earth. It is hard to conceive how the author of *l'Esprit des Loix* could say, *that the feudal system was an event which happened once in the world, and which perhaps will never happen again.* The feudal system is not an event; it is a very ancient form of government, which subsists in three fourths of our hemisphere under different administrations. The great mogul resembles the emperor of Germany: the soubas
are

are the princes of the empire, who are each of them sovereigns in their province: the nabobs are the possessors of the *mesne-tenure*. These *soubas* and nabobs are of Tartarian extraction, and maintain the religion of Mahomed. The *raïas*, who also enjoy great fiefs, are for the most part descended from Indian ancestors, and profess the ancient religion of the Bramins. These *raïas* occupy the least considerable provinces, and have far less power than the nabobs and *soubas*. This is confirmed by all the accounts received from India.

These princes sought the destruction of each other, and all was in confusion in those countries, since the year 1739 of our æra, a memorable year in which the Sha-Nadir, having at first protected the emperor of Persia, his master, and afterwards plucked out his eyes, ravaged the north of India, and even seized the person of the great mogul. We shall speak of this signal revolution in its proper place. The point then was, who should rush upon the provinces of this vast empire, which separated of their accord. All the viceroys, *soubas* and nabobs, con-
tended

tended with each other for the spoil; and these princes so haughty, who before disdained to admit the French merchants into their presence, now had recourse to them. The French and English East India companies, or rather their agents, were by turns the allies and the enemies of these princes. The French immediately obtained glorious advantages under their governor Dupleix; but those which the English procured soon after, were more solid. The French could not secure their prosperity; and the English in the end have abused theirs. This is an abstract of those events.

ARTICLE III.

Summary of the actions of La Bourdonnaye and of Dupleix.

IN the war of 1741, concerning the succession of the house of Austria, a war in some respects similar to that of 1701 for the succession of Spain, the English very soon took the part of Maria-Theresa, queen of Hungary, since empress. After the rupture

ture between France and England broke out, it was necessary that they should fight in America and India, as usual.

Paris and London are rivals in Europe : Madrafs and Pondichery are yet more so in Asia ; because these two trading towns are more near, both situated in the same province, named Arcot, at the distance of twenty-four thousand geometrical paces from each other, both carrying on the same trade, divided by religion, by jealousy, by interest, and by natural antipathy. This evil, brought from Europe, increases and gathers strength on the coasts of India.

Our Europeans, who are desirous of destroying each other in these climates, always do it with a small force. Their armies seldom consist of fifteen hundred effective men from France or England : the remainder is composed of Indians called seapoys, and of blacks, ancient inhabitants of the isles, who removed from time immemorial to the continent, or have been lately purchased in Africa. This small resource gives frequently more scope to genius. Men of enterprising spirits, who would have languished in obscu-

rity in their own country, raise themselves by their own efforts, in those distant parts, where industry is rare and necessary. One of those daring geniuses was Mahé de la Bourdonnaye, a native of St. Malo, the Duguetrouin of his time; superior to Duguetrouin in judgment, and equal in courage. He had been useful to the India Company in more than one voyage, and at least as much so to himself. One of the directors asking him how he had increased his own stock more than that of the company? Because, said he, I followed your instructions in every thing that related to your affairs, whereas with respect to what concerned my own interest, I was director myself. Being appointed governor of the Isle of Bourbon by the king with full power, though in the name of the company, he fitted out vessels at his expence, trained seamen, levied soldiers, disciplined them, carried on an advantageous trade under the protection of his force; in a word, he put the Isle of Bourbon on a respectable footing. He did more; he dispersed an English squadron in the Indian sea; an atchievement which never was performed

La Bour-
donnaye
takes
Madras
in Sept.
1746.

formed by any other, before or since that time. To conclude, he laid siege to Madras, and obliged that important town to capitulate.

The positive orders of the French ministry were not to guard any conquest on the continent. He obeyed. He permitted the vanquished to redeem their town for about nine millions of French money, and thus served the king his master, and the company. Never was any thing done in that country more useful or more glorious. It ought to be added, for the honour of Bourdonnaye, that in this expedition he behaved towards the vanquished with a politeness, good-nature, and magnanimity, which were extolled by the English. They esteemed and loved their conqueror. We speak upon the authority of the English that returned from Madras, who had no interest in disguising the truth. When strangers esteem an enemy, it looks as if they called upon his countrymen to do him justice.

The governor of Pondichery, Dupleix, disallowed this capitulation: he had the audacity to cause it to be annulled by a determination

mination of the council of Pondichery, and kept Madras, contrary to the faith of treaties and the laws of all nations. He accused Bourdonnaye of infidelity: he represented him to the court of France, and to the directors of the company, as a prevaricator who had exacted too small a ransom, and received too great presents. The directors, and the stockholders joined their complaints to these accusations. Men in general resemble dogs that howl, when they hear other dogs howl at a distance.

At length the cries of Pondichery having ^{Thrown} encouraged the ministry at Versailles, the ^{into the} conqueror of Madras, the only person who ^{Bastile as} had supported the honour of the French flag, ^{a recom-} was committed to the Bastile by a lettre de ^{pense.} cachet. Three years and an half did he languish in this prison, without being able to obtain the consolation of seeing his family. At the expiration of that time the commissaries of the council who were appointed his judges, were forced by the evidence of truth, and respect for his illustrious actions, to declare him innocent. Mr. Bertin, one of his ^{Declared} judges, since minister of state, was the prin- ^{innocent.}

cipal person whose equity saved his life. The enemies which his fortune, his exploits, and his merit had raised against him, wished for his death. They were soon gratified; he died on leaving his prison of a severe disorder which had been caused by the confinement. This was the recompense for the memorable services which he rendered to his country.

Governor Dupleix, in his Memoirs, laid the blame of this transaction upon the secret orders of the ministry. But he could not, at the distance of six thousand leagues, receive orders concerning a conquest which they had just obtained, and which the French ministry never could have foreseen. If these fatal orders had been issued from foresight, they were plainly contradictory to those which La Bourdonnaye had carried with him. The ministry would have had reason to reproach themselves not only with the loss of nine millions, of which they deprived France by violating the capitulation, but especially with the cruel treatment offered to the genius, the valour, and the magnanimity of La Bourdonnaye.

Mr.

Mr. Dupleix made amends for his dreadful fault and this public misfortune, by defending Pondichery during forty-two days ^{Dupleix saves Pondichery in 1748.} in open trenches, against two English admirals, supported by the troops of a nabob of the country. He performed the part of a general, an engineer, a commissary; his attention, his activity, his industry, and the well-regulated valour of Mr. de Bussy, an officer of eminence, saved the town at that crisis. Mr. de Bussy at this time served in a troop belonging to the company, which was called the battalion of India. He had come from Paris to seek for glory and fortune on the shore of Coromandel. He there acquired both. The court of France rewarded Dupleix by investing him with the red ribband, and the title of marquis.

The French and English factions, the one having preserved, and the other lost the capital of their commerce, attached themselves more than ever to the nabobs and soubas of whom we have already spoken. We have observed that the empire was become an anarchy. Those princes being always at war with each other, divided themselves be-

tween the French and English. A series of civil commotions took place in the peninsula.

We shall not here enter into a detail of their enterprizes; the quarrels, the perfidies of the Nazerzingues, of the Mouzaferzingue, their intrigues, their battles, their assassinations, have been sufficiently treated of by other writers. They have given us journals of the sieges of twenty places unknown in Europe, badly fortified, ill attacked, and ill defended; these circumstances are not the

The extraordinary action
of la Touche.

object of our narrative. But we cannot pass over in silence the action of a French officer named de la Touche, who with three hundred soldiers only, penetrated in the night into the camps of one of the greatest princes of those countries, killed twelve hundred men, without the loss of more than three of his own party, and dispersed by this surprising success an army of almost sixty thousand Indians, reinforced with some English troops. Such an incident proves that the inhabitants of India are not more difficult to conquer than were those of Mexico and Peru. It shews us how easily this country has been reduced by the Tartars, and the people who had formerly subdued it.

The ancient manners and customs are preserved in these countries as well as the fashion of their apparel: every thing there is the very opposite of what is found in our quarter of the world. Nature and art are not the same in both places. Among us, after a great battle, the pay of the victorious army is not augmented one farthing. In India, after a small skirmish, the nabobs bestowed millions on the troops of Europe who had joined their party. Chandazaëb, one of 1748. the princes protected by Mr. Dupleix, made a present to the troops of about two hundred thousand francs, and to the count d'Auteuil, their commander, a territory which yielded a yearly revenue of from nine to ten thousand livres. The souba Mouzaferzingue, on another occasion, ordered twelve hundred and fifty thousand livres to be distributed among the small French army, and gave as much to the company. Mr. Dupleix had besides a pension of a hundred thousand rupees, two hundred and forty thousand French livres, which he did not long enjoy: A workman in India earns four sous a-day. Those of rank have wherewith to afford this profusion.

Dupleix
viceroy in
India in
1749.

To conclude : the vice-gerent of a trading company received from the Great Mogul a patent creating him a nabob. The English have affirmed that this patent was fictitious, and only an artifice of vanity to impose upon the Europeans in India. If the French governor had used such an artifice, he could plead the example of more than one nabob and one souba. Those false diplomas were purchased at the court of Delhi, which the person afterwards received with great solemnity, by a man who was instructed to call himself a commissioner from the emperor. But whether the souba Mouzaferzingue and the nabob Chandazaëb, protectors of, and protected by the French company, had really obtained for the governor of Pondichery this imperial diploma, or whether it was absolutely fictitious, he enjoyed it with great haughtiness. Here is an agent of a trading society become a sovereign, having sovereigns at his command. We know that the Indians often treated him as king, and his wife as queen. Mr. de Buffy, who signalized himself at the defence of Pondichery, possessed a rank which cannot be better described than
by

by the title of general of the cavalry of the Great Mogul. He made war and peace with the Marattoes, a warlike people whom we shall mention afterwards, who sold their services sometimes to the English and sometimes to the French. He established on their thrones the princes whom Mr. Dupleix had created.

The gratitude of these princes was proportioned to the services which they had received. Riches as well as honours were the recompence. The greatest lords in Europe have neither so much power, nor so much splendor; but this fortune and this magnificence vanished in a short time. The English and their allies defeated the French troops in more than one encounter. The immense sums which the soldiery had received from the soubas and nabobs, were partly wasted in debauchery, and partly lost in the engagements; the cash, the ammunition, the provisions of Pondichery were exhausted.

The small remainder of the French army was commanded by major Law, nephew to the famous Law, who had done so much hurt to the kingdom, but to whom they

Their
misfor-
tunes.

owed the India Company. This young Scotchman fought against the English with great bravery; but destitute of succours and provisions, his valour proved of no effect. He led the nabob Chandazaëb into an island formed by two rivers, named Cheringam, belonging to the Bramins. It is perhaps proper here to observe, that the Bramins are sovereigns of this island. We have several such instances in Europe, and may even conclude that they occur all over the world. The Bramins, we are told, were formerly the principal sovereigns of India. Their successors have preserved very little remains of their ancient power. However that may be, the small French army, commanded by a Scotchman, and quartered in an Indian monastery, had neither provisions, nor money wherewith to purchase any. Mr. Law has preserved to us the letter in which Mr. Dupleix commanded him to take by force every thing that was for his purpose in the convent of the Bramins. There remained only two ornaments which were reputed sacred: these were the figures of two horses in sculpture, covered with thin plates of silver; they seized them, they sold them;

while the Bramins neither murmured nor made the least remonstrance. But the produce of this sale could not prevent the French troops from surrendering themselves prisoners of war to the English. The latter seized upon the nabob Chandazaëb, for whom major Law had fought; and the English nabob, the competitor of Chandazaëb, caused his head to be struck off. Mr. Dupleix accused the English colonel Laurence of this barbarous action, but he denied the charge as a groundless calumny.

As to major Law, being admitted to his 1752. parole, and returned to Pondichery, the governor committed him to prison, because he had been as unfortunate as he was brave. He dared even to commence a criminal prosecution against him, which he had not the audacity to finish.

Pondichery continued in want, in dejection and in fear, while they sent to France gold medals, struck in honour, and bearing the name, of their governor. He was recalled in 1753, departed in 1754, and arrived at Paris quite desperate. He begun a process against the company. He de-

manded of them millions which they disputed, and which had they really owed him, they were not in a capacity to pay. We have a memoir of his, in which he vented his spite against his successor Godeheu, one of the directors of the company. Mr. Godeheu replied to him not without acrimony. The memorials of these two titled merchants are more voluminous than the history of Alexander. These tiresome details of human weakness are perused a few days by the persons who are interested in them, and are soon forgotten for new disputes, which in their turn are obliterated by others. At last Dupleix died of chagrin, occasioned by his greatness and his fall, and above all by the humiliating necessity of deprecating the judges, after he had exercised the power of a sovereign. Thus the two great rivals, who signalized themselves in India, La Bourdonnaye and Dupleix, both ended their days at Paris by a melancholy and premature death.

Those who by the knowledge of them could determine their merit, said that La Bourdonnaye possessed the qualities of a
 sea

sea officer and a warrior; and Dupleix the talents of an enterprising and politic prince. This is the character drawn of them by an English author, who has related the wars of the two companies down to the year 1755.

Mr. Godeheu, a merchant, was as remarkable for prudence and mildness, as his predecessor had been for the boldness of his projects, and splendor of his administration. The latter thought of nothing but aggrandizing himself by the war. The former was disposed to maintain himself by peace; and to return to give the court an account of his management when a third governor should be appointed to Pondichery.

The minds of the Indians, irritated by acts of cruelty exercised on some of their countrymen, dependents of the company, required to be soothed. A native of Malabar, named Naïna, banker to La Bourdonnaye, had been thrown into a dungeon, for not giving evidence against him. Another complained of grievous exactions which he had suffered. The children of an Indian named Mondamia, register of a neighbouring

A peace
between
the
French
and
English.

bouring canton, incessantly sued for justice respecting the murder of their father, who was killed by the torture, to which he had been put, with the view of obtaining money from him. A thousand complaints of this nature rendered the French name odious. The new governor treated the Indians with humanity, and negotiated an accommodation with the English. He and Mr. Saunders, then governor of Madras, made a truce in 1755, and concluded a conditional peace. The first article was, that both factories should renounce Indian honours. The other articles contained regulations for supporting a pacific commerce.

The truce was not strictly observed. There is always some inferior persons disposed to excite disturbance, for the sake of rendering themselves necessary. Besides, a new war was foreseen in Europe from the beginning of 1756: to be in readiness for it was proper. It is alledged, that in this interval, motives of avarice prevailed more with some individuals than the interest of the company; and that the colony of Pondichery resembled a dying man,
gained whose

whose moveables they pillage before he expires.

ARTICLE IV.

The sending Count Lally into India. What this General was. What services he had performed previous to this expedition.

TO put a stop to these abuses, and to prevent the enterprizes of the English, yet more to be dreaded, the king of France sent into India money and troops. France and England then began that war of 1756, the pretext for which was an old treaty of peace very badly conceived. The ministers had neglected in this treaty to specify the limits of Acadia, a miserable frozen country adjacent to Canada. Since they fought in these northern deserts of America, it was necessary that they should kill one another likewise in the torrid zone of Asia. The French ministry appointed count Lally to that enterprize. He was a gentleman of Irish extraction,

extraction, whose ancestors followed into France the fortune of the Stuarts, the most unhappy family of all that ever wore a crown. This officer was one of the bravest and most faithful that the king of France had in his service. He performed acts of valour, of which that monarch was witness, at the battle of Fontenoy. The king knew that he bore an irreconcilable hatred to the English, who had dethroned their ancient sovereigns; and that, notwithstanding this hatred, he had relieved many English officers prisoners, some of whom were wounded by his hands. So much courage and generosity affected him. He conferred upon him in the field of battle the Irish regiment of Dillon, the colonel of which had been killed on that memorable day; and from that time the regiment bore the name of Lally. The Dillons and the Lallys were allied. These two houses, for a long time the victims of their dethroned kings, often spilt their blood in the cause of France.

At the time that Louis XV. revived the courage of his nation by this victory at Fontenoy, Charles Edward, grandson of James

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the

the second, attempted an extraordinary enterprize, which he had concealed from Louis XV. himself. He crossed St. George's Channel, with seven officers only to assist him, some arms, and two thousand louis d'ores which he had borrowed, in the design of raising by his presence an insurrection in Scotland in his favour, and of producing a new revolution in Great-Britain. He landed in Scotland the 15th of June 1745, about a month after the battle of Fontenoy. This enterprize, which ended so unfortunately, commenced with unexpected victories. Count Lally was the first who projected the scheme of sending ten thousand French to his assistance. He communicated his thought to the marquis d'Argenson, minister of foreign affairs, who received it with great eagerness. The count d'Argenson, brother of the marquis and secretary at war, opposed it, but in a little time altered his sentiments. The duke of Richlieu was nominated general of the army which should land in England the beginning of the year 1746. The ice retarded the sending ammunition and cannon, which they

they transported by the canals of French Flanders. The enterprize miscarried, but the zeal of Lally recommended him greatly to the minister; and from his boldness he was judged capable of executing great designs. The author of these memoirs writes from the knowledge of facts: he laboured with him a whole month at the desire of the minister; he found in him a stubborn fierceness of soul, accompanied with a gentleness of manners, which his misfortunes afterwards altered, and changed into a fatal violence.

Count Lally, on being sent into India, was invested with the order of St. Louis, and created a lieutenant-general of the army. The delays experienced every day in the smallest enterprizes, as well as in great, prevented the squadron of count d'Ache, which was to carry the general and the succours to Pondichery, from sailing from the port of Brest before the twentieth of February 1757.

Instead of three millions, which Mr. de Sechelles, comptroller general of the finances, had promised, Mr. de Moras, his successor,

cessor, could grant only two, which was a great deal, considering the situation of France at that time.

Of three thousand men who were to have embarked with him, they were obliged to retrench more than a thousand, and count d'Aché had in his squadron but two ships of war in place of three, with some vessels belonging to the India company.

While the two generals, Lally and d'Aché, are steering towards the place of their destination, it is necessary that those readers who are desirous of information, be made acquainted with the state of India at this conjuncture, and told what were the possessions of the nations of Europe in that country.

ARTICLE V.

The state of India when general Lally was sent thither.

THAT vast country on this side and beyond the Ganges, comprises forty degrees in latitude, from the Molucca
D islands

islands to the boundaries of Cachemire and of Great Boukaria; and ninety degrees in longitude, from the confines of Sablestan to those of China: which composes states, the entire extent whereof surpasses ten times that of France, and thirty times that of England, properly so called. But this same England, which at present rules over all Bengal, which stretches its possessions in America from the fifteenth degree to beyond the polar circle, which has produced Locke and Newton, and lastly, which has preserved the advantages of liberty with those of kingly government, is, notwithstanding all its abuses, as much superior to the people of India, as Greece was to Persia in the time of Miltiades, Aristides, and Alexander. The part over which the Great Mogul reigns, or rather seems to reign, is, without contradiction, the greatest, the best peopled, the most fertile, and the most opulent. It was in the peninsula on this side the Ganges that the French and English contended for spice, for muslin, for calico, for perfumes, for diamonds, for pearls, and that they dared to make war against sovereigns.

The

The sovereigns, who are, as we have already said, the soubas, the chief feudal lords of the empire, enjoyed no independent authority till after the death of Aurengzebe, surnamed the Great, who was in fact the greatest tyrant of all the princes of his time, the poisoner of his father, the murderer of his brothers, and, to complete the horror, a bigot or hypocrite, or persuaded, as is the case with so many wicked persons in all ages and in all places, that they may perpetrate with impunity the greatest crimes, provided that they expiate them by the slightest demonstrations of penitence and austerity.

The provinces where these soubas reign, and where the nabobs reign under them in their extensive districts, are governed very differently from the northern provinces more adjacent to Delhi, Agra, and Lahor, the residences of the emperors.

We confess with regret, that in endeavouring to arrive at the knowledge of the true history of this nation, its government, religion, and manners, we have obtained no assistance from the compilations of our French authors. Neither those

writers who have transcribed fables for the booksellers, nor our missionaries, nor our voyagers, have ever informed us of the truth. It is a long time since we ventured to refute these authors with respect to the fundamental principles of the government of India. It is an object of importance to all the nations of the earth. It has been thought that the emperor was master of the estates of all his subjects, and that no person from Cachemire to the cape

Very false
that there
is no pro-
perty in
India.

of Comorin had any property. Bernier, philosophical as he was, sent such an account to the comptroller general Colbert. It would have been a dangerous piece of imprudence to speak thus to the administrator of the finances of an absolute monarch, if that monarch, and that minister, had not been equally generous and wise. Bernier was mistaken as well as the English Thomas Roe. Dazzled with the pomp of the great mogul, and with his despotism, they both imagined that all the lands belonged to him of right, if the sultan granted fiefs for life. This is precisely the same as to say, that the grand master of Malta

is proprietor of all the commanderies to which he nominates in Europe; that the kings of France and Spain are proprietors of all the lands of which they confer the government, and that all the ecclesiastical benefices are their domain. This same error, prejudicial to mankind, has been a hundred times repeated concerning the Turkish government, and owed its origin to the same cause. People have confounded the Timars and the Des-zaïms, military benefices in the gift and resumption of the grand signior, with the patrimonial estates. The authority of a Greek monk has been enough to make a hundred writers repeat the assertion.

In a sincere desire of discovering the truth, and of being somewhat useful, we thought that we could not better ascertain the present state of India, than by referring ourselves to Mr. Holwell, who resided so long in Bengal, and who not only understood the language of the country, but likewise that of the ancient Bramins; by consulting Mr. Dow, who has related the revolutions of which he was a witness; and

especially by giving credit to the testimony of that brave officer, Mr. Scrafton, who joins to sincerity the love of letters, and who contributed so much to the success of Lord Clive. Here follow this worthy citizen's own words : they are decisive.

“ I am amazed to see, that all the writers have asserted, that there are no laws in this country ; that the land is not hereditary ; and that the emperor is universal heir. I am ready to allow there are no written institutes ; no acts of parliament ; and that there is no power to controul the emperor ; but I must assert, that they proceed in their courts of justice by established precedents ; that the lineal succession, where there are children, is as indefeasible here as in any country that has no check on the supreme power ; and that the emperor is heir to none but his own officers *.”

We venture to add, that were the people slaves of one man (as has been pretended, and is impossible), the lands of the mogul would very soon have become a desert. They reckon in that country about a hundred and ten millions of inhabitants. Slaves never multiply at such a rate. Take a view

* Scrafton, p. 24. second edit.

of Poland. The husbandmen, the greatest part of the commoners, have been hitherto the slaves of the soil, the slaves of the nobles. Such are the nobles, that they have entirely depopulated the country.

It is necessary to distinguish in the empire of the mogul, between the people who are victorious and the conquered, even more than between the Tartars and the Chinese. For the Tartars, who have conquered India as far as the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, have preserved the religion of Mahomet; whereas the other Tartars, who subjected China, have adopted the laws and manners of the Chinese.

All the ancient inhabitants of India have continued faithful to the worship and customs of the Bramins; customs rendered sacred by time, and which unquestionably are the most ancient in the world.

There is yet another race of Mahometans ^{The ancient Arabs in India,} in India, which is that of the Arabs, who, about two hundred years after Mahomet, arrived on the coast of Malabar. They easily subjected that country, which from Goa to the cape of Comorin is a garden of pleasure,

pleasure, inhabited at that time by a peaceful and innocent people, equally incapable of hurting others, or defending themselves. They over-ran the mountains which separate Coromandel from Malabar, and which are the cause of the monsoons. This chain of mountains is at present inhabited by the Marattoes.

These Arabs penetrated in a short time as far as Delhi, and gave a race of sovereigns to a great part of India. This race, with the original inhabitants of the country, was subdued by Tamerlane. It is supposed that a party of those ancient Arabs, then settled in the province of Candahar, and was confounded with the Tartars. This Candahar is the ancient country which the Greeks called Parapomisa, who never gave any people their own name. By this route it was that Alexander entered India. The eastern nations pretend that he founded the town of Candahar. They say that the name of Iscander is an abbreviation of Alexander. We may observe, that this man alone founded more towns in seven or eight years than the other conquerors destroyed; that
he

he ran however from conquest to conquest, though he died a young man.

By Candahar also, in our time, entered Nadir, the shepherd, a native of Corassan, who took possession of the throne of Persia, when, after ravaging his own country, he went to ravage the north of India.

These Arabs of whom we speak are known at this day by the name of Patans, because they founded the town of Patna towards Bengal.

Our European merchants, very ill informed, call indiscriminately by the name of Moors, all those Mahometan nations. What occasioned this mistake was, the appellation formerly given to the people who came from Mauritania to conquer Spain, a part of the southern provinces of France, and some tracts of Italy. Almost all the nations from China to Rome, conquerors and conquered, plunderers and plundered, are mixed promiscuously together.

The true Indians we call Gentoos, from the ancient word gentiles, *gentes*, by which the first Christians denominated all the rest of the world who professed not their secret religion.

gion. Thus it is that all names and all things have ever changed. The manners of the conquerors have changed likewise. The climate of India has enervated almost the whole people.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the Gentoos, and their most remarkable customs.

OF these ancient Indians whom we call Gentoos, there are in the country of the mogul about a hundred millions, as Mr. Scrafton assures us. This multitude is a fatal proof that the great number is easily subjected by the small. These innumerable flocks of pacific Gentoos, who yielded their liberty to some herds of robbers, did not however yield their religion and customs. They have retained the ancient worship of Brama. It is, they say, because the Mahometans, content with being their masters, have never been solicitous about directing their souls.

Their four ancient orders still subsist in all the rigour of the law which ordains their
sepa-

separation, and in all the force of their original prejudices confirmed by so many ages. The first is the order of the Bramins who formerly governed the empire; the second of the warriors; the third of the husbandmen; the fourth of the merchants. They do not reckon that which they name the *Hallacores*, or the *Parias*, whose task is to perform the meaner offices. These are regarded as impure: as such they consider themselves; and never presume to eat with a man of another tribe, nor to touch, nor even to come nigh him.

It is probable that the institution of these four orders was imitated by the Egyptians; because there is much reason for concluding, or rather indeed it is certain, that Egypt could not be moderately peopled or improved in political regulations till a long time after India. It required ages to reduce the Nile to subjection, to form it into canals, to raise bulwarks against its inundations; while the fertile soil of India lavished on its inhabitants every thing necessary to life, as we have elsewhere mentioned and proved.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Bramins.

ALL the greatness and all the wretchedness of the human mind have been displayed in the ancient Bramans, and in the Bramins their successors. On the one side is a persevering virtue, maintained by rigorous abstinence; a philosophy sublime, though fantastic, veiled in ingenious allegories; a horror at the effusion of human blood; a constant charity towards men and animals. On the other side is the most contemptible superstition. This fanaticism, though calm, has induced them, for innumerable ages, to encourage the voluntary murder of so many young widows, who throw themselves into the burning funeral piles of their husbands. This horrible excess of religion and of greatness of soul still subsists with the famous profession of the faith of the Bramins, *that God requires nothing of us but charity and good works.* The whole world is governed by contradictions.

They are persuaded, Mr. Scrafton adds, of its being the will of God that the distinct

nations should have distinct modes of worship. This persuasion might lead them to indifference; but they entertain nevertheless an enthusiasm for their religion, as if they believed it to be the only true system, the only doctrine delivered by God himself.

The greater part of them live in an indolent apathy. Their grand maxim, drawn from ancient books, is, *that it is better to sit than to walk, to lie than to sit, to sleep than to wake, and to die than to live.* Many however may be seen on the coast of Coromandel, who throw off this lethargy, to enter upon an active life. Some of them take the side of the French, others of the English: they learn the languages of these strangers, and serve them for interpreters and brokers. There is scarce a trader of eminence on that coast who has not his Bramin, as usually as people have their banker. In general they are faithful, but sly and cunning. Those who have had no commerce with strangers, we are told, maintain in primitive purity the virtue which they attribute to their ancestors.

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com-

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com-

Surprising
science of
the Bra-
mins in
their de-
cline.

composition, in which eclipses are calculated for several thousand years. Among them therefore are good mathematicians, learned astronomers; but at the same time they have all the ridiculous impertinence of judicial astrology, and they carry this extravagance as far as the Chinese and Persians. The writer of these memoirs has sent to the king's library the *Cormovedam*, the ancient commentary of Veidam; it is full of predictions for all the days of the year, and of religious precepts for every hour. Let us not be surprised at this: it is not two hundred years since the same folly possessed all our princes, and since the same sort of quackery was affected by our astronomers. The Bramins who possess these journals must necessarily be well instructed in science. They are philosophers and priests, as the ancient Bracmans; they say that the people require to be deceived, and that they ought to be kept in ignorance. Agreeably to this maxim they give out that the nodes of the moon in which eclipses happen, and which the first Bracmans marked by representations of the head and tail of the dragon, are in reality the efforts of a dragon which

which attacks the moon and the sun. The same absurdity is adopted in China. Millions of men and women are to be seen in India, who plunge into the Ganges during the time of an eclipse, and make a prodigious noise with all sorts of instruments to make the dragon let go his hold. It is thus, almost, that the whole world has for a long time been governed in every way.

As for the rest, more than one Bramin have treated with the missionaries for the interest of the India company, but not a word has passed between them on the subject of religion.

Other missionaries (it is proper to repeat it) have made haste, on their arrival in India, to write, that the Bramins worshipped the devil, but that in a very short time they would all be converted to the faith. It is acknowledged, that these monks of Europe have never so much as attempted to convert one single Bramin, and that no Indian ever worshipped the devil, of whom they were entirely ignorant. The rigid Bramins have conceived an inexpressible horror for our monks, on seeing them feed upon flesh, drink wine, and hold young girls on their knees

knees in the time of confession. Our practices have appeared to them as crimes, if theirs have been regarded by us as only ridiculous idolatries*.

What we ought to consider as more surprising is, that not in any book of the ancient Bracmans, no more than in those of the Chinese, nor in the fragments of Sanchoniathon, nor in those of Beroses, nor in the Egyptian Manethon, nor among the Greeks, nor the Tuscans, do we find the smallest traces of the Jewish sacred history, which is ours. Not one word of Noah,

* One of the great Jesuit missionaries, named de Lalane, wrote in 1709, *It cannot be doubted that the Bramins are really idolaters, seeing that they worship strange gods.* Lettres Edifiantes, Tome x. p. 14.

And he says (page 15.) *Here is one of their prayers which I have translated word for word.*

“ I worship that Being who is subject neither to change nor disquiet ; that Being whose nature is indivisible ; that Being whose spirituality admits no composition of qualities ; that Being who is the origin and the cause of all other beings, and who surpasses them all in excellency ; that Being who is the support of the universe, and who is the source of the triple power.”

This is what one of the missionaries calls idolatry.

whom

Whom we look upon as the restorer of the human race; not one word of Adam, who was the father of it; nothing of his first descendants. How have all the nations lost the names of the great family? How happens it that no person has transmitted to posterity one single action, one single name of their ancestors? Why have so many ancient nations been ignorant of them, and why have they been known to a small body of people of late origin? This prodigy would merit some attention were there any hope of diving into the bottom of it. India entirely, China, Japan, Tartary, three fourths of Africa, have never yet dreamt that there existed Cain, a Caïnan, a Jared, a Methusalem; who lived almost a thousand years. And the other nations understood nothing of these names before the time of Constantine. But these questions, which relate to philosophy, are foreign to history.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the warriors of India, and of the late revolutions.

THE Gentoos in general seem not to be better qualified for war, in their fine climate, and from the principles of their religion, than the Laplanders in their frozen zone, or the primitive sect of quakers from the principles which they have devised to themselves. We have seen that the race of the victorious Mahometans retains scarce any thing of the Tartar, and is become Indian with time.

Sha-Nadir overthrows the constitution of India.

These descendants of the conquerors of India were not able, with an innumerable army, to resist Sha-Nadir, when in 1739, with an army composed of forty thousand banditti drawn from Candahar and Persia, inured to war, he attacked above six hundred thousand men whom Mahmoud-Sha brought against him into the field. Mr. Cambridge informs us what sort of warriors these six hundred thousand men were. Every horseman attended by two valets, wore a light robe of

silk

filk that flowed behind him like a train. The elephants were adorned as for a festival. A prodigious number of women followed the army. There were in the camp as many stalls and commodities of luxury as in Delhi. The very sight of the army of Nadir dispersed this ridiculous pomp. Nadir burnt Delhi and put the inhabitants to the sword; he carried into Persia all the treasures of this powerful and miserable emperor, and despised him so much as to leave him in the possession of his crown.

Some accounts relate, and some compilers repeat from these relations, that a saquir stopped the Nadir's horse on his march to Delhi, and cried to the prince, "If you be God, take us for victims; and if you be a man, spare men;" and that the Nadir replied, "I am not God, but he whom God sends to chastise the nations of the earth *."

A similar story has been told of Fernand Cortez, of Tamerlane, and of Attila, who said he was the scourge of God, according to the compilers. Nobody ever thought of calling himself a *scourge*. The Jesuits called Pascal the gate of hell, but Pascal answered them, in his native dialect, that his name was not the gate of hell. The greater part of these adventures and these answers, attributed from age to age to so many cele-

The treasure with which Nadir contented himself, and from which he reaped no advantage, being assassinated some time after by his own nephew, amounted, as we are assured, to upwards of fifteen hundred millions French money, according to the present valuation of our coin. What is become of these immense riches? Into whatever hands new rapines have made part of them to pass, or which ever be the caverns where avarice or fear has concealed the remainder, Persia and India have been equally the most unhappy countries in the world; so many men are daily forced to exchange the goods which nature has bestowed upon them for the most horrible calamities. After the victory and death of Nadir, Persia and India were nothing but a scene of blood and anarchy. A torrent of revolutions poured in upon them.

brated men, have been invented in the imagination of authors for the sake of enlivening their romances, and continue to be repeated by those who write histories from news-papers. All these pretended *bon mots*, all these anecdotes, are of no other use but to enlarge the books, the titles of which end in *ana*; people may amuse themselves with them, but not believe them.

ARTICLE IX.

Continuation of the revolutions.

A Young Persian, who had served in a quality of mace-bearer in the house of Sha-Nadir, became a highwayman, as his master had been. He received intelligence of a convoy of three thousand camels loaded with arms, provisions, and a great quantity of gold, carrying to Delhi by the Persians. He killed the escort, seized upon the whole convoy, levied troops and made himself master of an entire kingdom north-east of Delhi*. This kingdom was formerly a part of Bactriana; it borders on one side upon the mountains of the fine province of Cachemire, and on the other upon Caboul.

This robber, named Abdalah, was then a great prince, a hero; he marched towards Delhi in 1746, and flattered himself with no less than the entire conquest of Hindostan.

* This kingdom is called Ghisni. We have not found this name either in Vaugondi's charts, or our dictionaries: it has existed however, and at present is dismembered.

This was precisely at the time that Bourdonnaye took Madras.

The old mogul Mahmoud, whose fate it was to be crushed by robbers, either kings, or ambitious of being so, immediately dispatched against this invader his grand vizier, under whom his grandson Sha-Achmed was initiated in the art of war. They came to an engagement at the gates of Delhi: the victory was undetermined; but the grand vizier was slain in the field. It is affirmed, that the omrahs, commandants of the emperor's troops, strangled their master, and raised a report that he had poisoned himself.

His grandson Sha-Achmed succeeded him on the tottering throne; a prince whom they describe as brave, though weak*, vo-

* We only seek for the truth: we pretend not to draw the portrait either of princes or of statesmen who have lived at the distance of six thousand leagues from us, like those writers who affect to trace even the smallest shade in the character of some sovereigns who reigned about two thousand years ago, and of ministers who ruled under them or over them. The illusion that extends every where varies these representations a thousand ways: they make these men, of whom they know so little, say what they never said; they attribute to them harangues which they never pronounced, as well

voluptuous, irresolute, inconstant, distrustful,
 destined to be more unfortunate than his
 grandfather. A raïa named Gafi, who some-
 times assisted him, and sometimes betrayed
 him, took him prisoner, and caused his eyes
 to be pluckt out. The emperor died in
 consequence of his punishment. The raïa
 Gafi, unable to raise himself to the dignity
 of emperor, placed upon the throne a des-
 cendant of Tamerlane: this was Alungir,
 who proved not more fortunate than the rest.
 The omrahs, like the agas of the janissaries, ^{Another} are desirous that the race of Tamerlane ^{assassina-}
 should always sway the sceptre of the mo-
 gul, as the Turks do not incline to have any
 sultan who is not of the Ottoman line. It
 is a matter of no moment to them what
 qualities the prince possesses; whether weak
 or wicked it is the same, provided that he
 be of the family. They depose him, they
 pluck out his eyes, they kill him upon the
 throne which they hold sacred. It is thus
 that they have treated their emperors since
 the time of Aurengzebe.

as actions which they never performed. We should
 find it difficult to draw a true portrait of princes whom
 we have seen familiarly; and yet they can think of
 giving us that of Numa and of Tarquin!

We may judge whether during these storms the soubas, the nabobs, the raïas of the south of India disputed with each other the provinces invaded by them; and whether the English and French factions exerted their efforts to share the spoil.

We have shewn how a feeble detachment of Europeans drew to an engagement, or dispersed the armies of the Gentoos. These troops of Visapour, of Arcot, of Tanjaour, of Golconda, of Orixá, of Bengal, from the cape of Comorin to the promontory of Palmiers and the mouth of the Ganges, are unquestionably very bad soldiers. Destitute of military discipline, impatient of fatigue, without any attachment to their leaders, regardful only of their pay, which, by a custom directly contrary to the practice of every nation in Europe, is always greater than the wages of labourers; neither they nor their officers are in the least degree solicitous about the interest of the prince whom they serve, only about the cash of his treasurer. But in a word, when Indians against Indians expose themselves in battle, their force and their weakness is equal; and being seldom accustomed to fatigue, they are totally incapable

pable of enduring it. The quails fight and kill each other as well as the mastiffs.

We must except from these feeble troops Marattas, the mountaineers, called Marattas, who possess somewhat more of the robust constitution natural to all the inhabitants of hilly countries. They are more hardy, have more courage, and more of the love of liberty, than all the inhabitants of the plain. These Marattas are precisely what the Swiss were in the wars of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII. Whoever could afford to hire them was certain of victory, and they dearly paid for their services. They would chuse to themselves a leader, to whom they would render obedience only during the course of the war. And though they pay little regard to his command, the Europeans have distinguished this captain of robbers with the appellation of king; so prodigal are they of this title. Sometimes they take arms for the emperors, and sometimes against them. They have served nabob against nabob, and French against English, by turns.

We are not to imagine that these Gentoo-Marattas, though of the religion of the Bramins, are rigorous observers of its rites :
they,

they, and almost all the soldiery, eat flesh and fish, and also drink strong liquors when they meet with them. In every country, people accommodate their religion to their passions.

These Marattas prevented Abdalah from conquering India. Without them to oppose him, he would have been a Tamerlane, an Alexander. We have seen the grandson of Mahmoud put to death by one of his subjects. His successor, Alumgir, experienced the same revolutions in the course of a short life, which terminated by the same fate. The Marattas, who had declared against him, entered Delhi, and plundered it during seven days. Abdalah yet returned to increase the confusion and disorder in 1757. The emperor Alumgir become mad, governed and abused by his vizier, implored the protection even of this Abdalah; the vizier, full of indignation, threw his master into prison, and soon after caused his head to be struck off. Our memoirs, which agree with respect to the main points, contradict each other in the dates; but of what consequence is it to us in which month, in which year, an effeminate mogul was murdered

dered in India, while so many sovereigns have been assassinated in Europe?

This uninterrupted series of crimes and misfortunes at length disgusts the reader: the number of them, and the distances of the places in which they happened, diminish the compassion which the calamities inspire.

ARTICLE X.

A summary description of the coasts of the Peninsula, where the French and English have traded and carried on war.

HAVING given an account of the emperors, the grandees, the people, the soldiers, the priests, with whom general Lally had to fight and negotiate, it is necessary to shew the situation of the English, against whom he was sent, and to begin with giving some idea of the settlements formed by so many European nations on the western and eastern coasts of India.

We are sorry that we cannot here present our readers with a map of those countries: we have neither time nor conveniency for it; but

but whoever would peruse these memoirs with advantage, can easily consult one. If they have none, let them figure to themselves all the coasts of the peninsula of India covered with settlements of the European merchants, established either by the concession of the natives of the country, or by force of arms. Begin at the north-west.

Cambaya
fables.

Immediately on the coast of the Peninsula, you find Cambaya, where it has been pretended that men commonly lived to the age of two hundred years. Were such the case, this country would be in possession of that water of immortality, so much celebrated in the fables of Asia, or that fountain of youth well known in the romances of Europe. The Portuguese have here maintained *Diü*, or *Djou*, one of their old conquests.

Surat.

At the bottom of the gulf of Cambaya is Surat, a town immediately under the government of the grand mogul, in which all the commercial nations of the world had factories, and especially the Armenians, who are the factors of Turkey, of Persia, and of India.

The coast of Malabar, properly so called, commences with a small island which be-

longed to the Jesuits: it still retains their name; and, by a singular contrast, the isle of Bombay, which is the next, belongs to the English. This island of Bombay is the most unwholesome and inconvenient situation in India. To maintain it, however, the English have carried on a war with the nabob of Decan, who affects the sovereignty of these coasts. They certainly find their profit in defending so dismal a settlement; and we shall see how this post has given rise to one of the most astonishing enterprises, which have rendered the English name respectable in India. In the article of Angria.

Further down lies the small island of Goa. Goa. All the navigators say, that there is not a finer port in the world: those of Naples and Lisbon are neither larger nor more commodious. The town remains a monument of the superiority of the Europeans over the Indians, or rather the cannon, with which these people were totally unacquainted. Goa is unhappily famous for its inquisition, equally repugnant to humanity and the spirit of commerce. The Portuguese monks gave out that the people worshipped the devil, while it is themselves that have served him.

Descend

Descend towards the south, and you meet with Cananor, which the Dutch have taken from the Portuguese, who wrested it from the original owners.

Calicut. We next proceed to the ancient kingdom of Calicut, which cost the Portuguese so much blood. This kingdom is about twenty of our leagues every way. The sovereign styles himself *Zamorin*, king of kings; and the kings, his vassals, possess each about five or six leagues. It was formerly the mart of trade; but is now little frequented by merchants. An Englishman, who has travelled a long time on these coasts, has assured us, that this country is the most delightful of any in Asia, and the climate the most wholesome; that the trees are in perpetual verdure; and that the earth is for ever covered with flowers and fruits. But human avarice sends not merchants into India to breathe a mild air, and to gather flowers.

Falshoods printed. A Portuguese monk formerly wrote, that when the king of this country marries, he immediately begs of the youngest priests, that they will lie with his wife; that all the ladies, and the queen herself, may have each

seven husbands; that the nephews, not the children, are intitled to inheritance; and lastly, that all the inhabitants offer solemn sacrifices to the devil. These ridiculous absurdities are repeated in twenty histories, in twenty books of geography, even in *Martiniere*. Our indignation rises against this croud of compilers, who coolly transcribe so much impertinence of every kind, as if there was no harm in imposing upon mankind*.

We

* The famous Jesuit Tachard relates, that the ladies of quality in Calcutta may have even ten husbands at a time. (*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tome iii.) Montefquieu cites this silly story, with as much solemnity as if it was an article in the customs of Paris, and what is yet worse, he gives a reason for the law.

The author of these Fragments having, in conjunction with some friends, sent a vessel into India, made strict enquiry whether this strange law really exists in Calcutta. They answered him by shrugging their shoulders and laughing. In fact, how can we imagine that the people, the most polished of the whole coast of Malabar, should have a custom so opposite to that of all their neighbours, repugnant to the dictates of religion and of human nature! Can we believe that a man of quality, a warrior, could resolve with himself to be the tenth favourite of his wife! To whom would

We think it our duty here to repeat, that the first Bracmans, having invented sculpture, painting, hieroglyphics, as well as arithmetic and geometry, represented virtue under the emblem of a woman, to whom they gave ten arms, for fighting ten monsters, which are the ten sins to which men are most liable. These are allegorical figures, which the chaplains of ships, ignorant, imposed upon, and imposing, took for statues of Satan and of Belzebuth, ancient Persian names, which have never been known in the Peninsula*. But what would the descendants of these Bracmans say, the first instructors of mankind, had they the curiosity to visit our countries so long barbarous,

would the children belong? What an abominable source of perpetual quarrels and murders! It would be less ridiculous to affirm, that there is a poultry-yard, where ten cocks peaceably share the enjoyment of one hen. This story is as absurd as that with which Herodotus amused the Greeks, when he said that all the ladies of Babylon were obliged to go to the temple, to sell their favours to the first stranger that was disposed to purchase them. A member of the university of Paris has attempted to prove the truth of this childish story: he has not succeeded.

* See the article *Bramins*.

as we have the rage of going among them from avarice !

Tanor, which we afterwards arrive at, is Tanor; also called a kingdom by our geographers : it is a small tract of land, four leagues long, and two broad ; a pleasure-house, situated in a delightful spot, where the neighbours come to purchase some valuable commodities.

Contiguous to the latter is the kingdom of Cranganor, nearly of the same extent.^{nor.} Most accounts people this coast with as many kings as we see in Italy ; as many marquisses as there are in France, without marquises ; counts, without counties ; and in Germany, barons without baronies.

If Cranganor be a kingdom, Coulan, which is next, may be called a vast empire ; for it is about twelve leagues in length, by nearly three in breadth. The Dutch, who have driven the Portuguese from the capitals of these states, have established in Cranganor a factory, which is so fortified as to be impregnable to the force of all these monarchs combined. They carry on an immense trade at Cranganor, which is represented to be a perfect paradise.

F

In

In proceeding southward along the shore of this peninsula, which becomes more and more contracted, the Dutch have also taken from the Portuguese the fortress which they had in the kingdom of Cochin, a small province which formerly depended on the king of kings, zamorin, of Calcutta. For almost three hundred years these sovereigns have beheld armed merchants come from Europe to establish themselves in their territories, drive each other out, and take possession by turns of the entire commerce of the country, without the inhabitants of three hundred leagues of coast ever being able to oppose them.

Travan-
cor.

Travancor is the last country which terminates the point of the peninsula. It is surprising to consider the weakness of the voyagers and missionaries, who have magnified into a kingdom the little country of Travancor, as well as all these other assemblages of rich villages which we have now run over. Did each of these kingdoms occupy but fifty leagues of the coast, there would be more than twelve hundred leagues from Surat to cape Comorin; and if only the hundredth part of the Indians were converted,

verted, among whom there is not one Christian, there would be upwards of a million*.

Before

* A Jesuit, named Martin, relates, in the fifth volume of *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses*, that it is a custom about Travancor, to create a fund every year for the purpose of being distributed by lot. An Indian, says he, made a vow to St. Francis Xavier, of giving a sum to the Jesuits if he should prove successful at this kind of lottery. He got the capital prize. He made yet another vow, and got the second prize. Nevertheless, adds the Jesuit Martin, this Indian, as well as all his countrymen, retained an invincible horror for the religion of the Franks, which they call Franguinism. He was an ungrateful person. Let us add to all these strokes with which the *Lettres Curieuses* are filled, the miracles attributed to St. Francis Xavier, his sermons in all the dialects of India and Japan when he landed in those countries; the nine persons whom he raised from the dead, the two ships in which he was present at the same time a hundred leagues distant from each other, and how he saved from the tempest his crucifix, which fell into the sea, and was brought to him by a crab-fish; and we may judge whether a religion so holy as ours ought to be continually debased with such fables.

This same Martin, who however resided a long time in India, has the assurance to affirm, that there is a small body of people named the Coleries, among whom it is a law, that in their quarrels and persecu-

Before we quit Malabar, though it falls not within our plan to give the natural history of these delightful countries, we beg leave just to take notice of the cocoa-tree and

The sensitive tree, a singular phenomenon, if true.

the sensitive tree. It is known that the cocoa-tree furnishes man with every thing necessary for him, agreeable food and drink, cloathing, lodging, and moveables. It is the finest present of nature. The sensitive tree, less known, produces fruit which swells and rebounds under the hand that touches it. Our sensitive plant, also inexplicable, possesses qualities less peculiar. This tree, if we may give credit to some naturalists, produces itself anew in whatever way it is cut. It has not, however, been ranked among the animal zoophytes, in which class Leuenhoeck has placed the small

tions the adverse party is obliged to do every thing after the example of the other. Let the one deprive himself of an eye, the other must pluck out his. If a Colerie kills his wife and eats her, his adversary immediately assassinate and eats his own. Mr. Orme, an intelligent Englishman, who has seen much of these Coleries, assures us, in positive terms, that these diabolical customs are absolutely unknown, and that father Martin is guilty of gross misrepresentation.

reeds,

reeds, named fresh-water polypes, which grow in some marshes, and of which they relate so many fables, too implicitly received as authentic. People look for the marvellous; it may be found every where, as the least works of nature are incomprehensible. There is no necessity for adding fables to those real mysteries which are every where perceptible, and yet disregarded by us.

ARTICLE XI.

Description of the coasts of India, continued.

AFTER doubling the famous cape of Comor, or Comorin, known to the ancient Romans from the time of Augustus, we arrive at that coast of pearls which is called the fishery. From thence it was that the Indian divers were wont to furnish pearls to the East and West. They continued to be found in great quantity when the Portuguese discovered and invaded this coast in the sixteenth century. Since that time this

great branch of commerce has daily declined ; whether it be that the more eastern seas produce at this day pearls of a finer water, or that the matter from which they are formed, has undergone a change on the shore of this promontory of India ; as many mines of gold, silver, and other metals, wear out in different parts of the world.

Famous
island of
Ceylon.

Passing then a little northward of the eighth degree of the equator, on your right you behold Trapobana, or Taprobana of the ancients, called since by the Arabs the isle of Serendib, and afterwards Ceylon. To make it known, it may be sufficient to say, that Emanuel, king of Portugal, asking the captain of one of his ships, who was returned from this island, whether it merited the high reputation bestowed upon it, the officer answered, “ I have seen a sea spread with pearls, shores covered with ambergrise, forests of ebony and cinnamon, mountains of rubies, caverns of crystal, and I have brought of these valuable commodities home for you in my vessel.” What an answer !, and he did not exaggerate.

The Dutch have not failed to drive the Portuguese from this island of treasures.

It

It would seem as if Portugal had undertaken so many difficult voyages, and conquered so many states in the remote parts of Asia, only to enrich the Hollanders. These having made themselves masters of all the coasts of Ceylon, immediately prohibited every other nation from any settlements on the island. They have made the king of the island their tributary; and the thought of even attempting to dispossess them has never so much as entered the head of the raïas, the nabobs, and soubahs of India.

Ascending again from the coast of Malabar, which we have travelled over, we come to that of Coromandel and of Bengal, the theatres of the wars between the princes of the country, and between France and England.

We shall say no more here of the monarchs and the zamorins, kings of kings; but of the soubah, the nabob, the raïa. This coast of Coromandel is peopled with Europeans, like that of Malabar. First we meet with the Dutch at Negapatam, which they have also taken from Portugal, and of which we are told that they have made a very flourishing town.

Higher up is Tranquebar, a small spot of ground which the Danes have purchased, and where they have founded a town much finer than Negapatam. Nigh to Tranquebar the French have the factory and fort of de Karical. Still higher the English have those of Goudelour and St. David.

Pondichery.

Near fort St. David, in a barren plain and without a port, the French having, as others, purchased of the soubah of the province of Decan a small territory, where they erected a hut, they have in time made of this hut a considerable town. This is Pondichery, of which we have already spoken. It was at first nothing more than a factory surrounded with a thick hedge of acacia, palm-trees, cocoa-trees, and aloes, and they called it the hedge of the limits.

Madras.

Thirty leagues northward lies Madras, as we have already seen; the principal mart of the English commerce. The town, is built partly of the ruins of Meliapour, the name of which has been changed by the Portuguese into that of *St. Thomé*, in honour of St. Thomas Dydimus the apostle. In this quarter also is found the remains of the Syrians, named at first the Christians of Thomas,

Thomas, because one Thomas, a Syrian merchant and a Nestorian, came here with his factors to form a settlement in the sixteenth century. Very soon afterwards the people were fully persuaded that this Nestorian was really St. Thomas Dydimus. Traditions of public opinions, monuments, and customs founded on mistakes of this nature, are every where to be met with. The Portuguese believed that St. Thomas had come on foot from Jerusalem to the coast of Coromandel, in quality of a carpenter, to build a magnificent palace for king Gondafer. The jesuit Tachard has seen near to Madrafs an opening which St. Thomas made in the middle of a mountain, to escape by that hole from the hands of a Bracman who pursued him furiously with a spear, though no Bracman ever lifted a spear against any person. The English and the French christians have slaughtered each other with cannon on the spot which nature seemed never to have intended for them. The pretended christians of St. Thomas were at least peaceable merchants.

Further up stands the little fort of Paliacata, belonging to the Dutch. It is from
thence

thence that they go to purchase diamonds in the country of Golconda.

Mazuli-
patam.

At the distance of fifty leagues north the English and French disputed the possession of Mazulipatam, where the finest calicoes are made, and where all nations traded. Mr. Dupleix obtained of the nabob this whole settlement. Strangers we see have divided among themselves the entire extent of this coast, and the Indians have retained nothing of their own territory.

On passing quite over the coast of Coromandel, we come to the high grounds of the great nabobship of Golconda, in which are situated those principal objects of avarice, the mines of diamonds. The nabobs had for a long time hindered foreign nations from establishing any settlements in this province. The English and Dutch factors first came here to purchase diamonds, which they sold in Europe.

Calcutta.

North of Golconda the English possessed the small town of Calcutta, built by them upon the banks of the Ganges in Bengal, a province reckoned the finest, the richest, and the most delightful country in the universe.

Chander-
nagor.

As to the French, they had Chandernagor and

and another small settlement on the Ganges. It was at Chandernagor that Mr. Duplex laid the foundation of his great fortune, which he afterwards lost. He equipped at this place fifteen vessels on his own account, which traded with all the ports of Asia, before he was appointed governor of Pondichery.

The Dutch have the town of Ougli, between Calcutta and Chandernagor. It deserves to be remarked, that in all the late wars which have ravaged India, brought the English to the brink of ruin, and destroyed the French, the Dutch never openly sided with any party: they exposed themselves to no danger, they enjoyed peaceably the advantages of their commerce, without pretending to establish empires. They have a very considerable one at Batavia. Against the Spaniards and Portuguese they acted the part of brave warriors, but in those late commotions they have behaved as able merchants.

We may observe likewise, that while so many of the nations of Europe had ships of war on all the shores of India, there was no Indian who had any, except one pirate. Is

this owing to weakness and ignorance of government? Does it proceed from pusillanimity; or is it the effect of a reliance on the goodness of their vast and fertile lands, which leave them in no need of our commodities? It is owing to all these causes united.

ARTICLE XII.

What passed in India before the arrival of general Lally. History of Angria. The English defeated in Bengal.

HAVING described as well as we could in so short an abstract, those coasts of India in which the commercial nations of Europe and Asia are particularly concerned, we proceed to relate a signal achievement performed by the English.

Angria. About a hundred years ago a maratto, named Conogé Angria, who had commanded some vessels belonging to his nation against those of the emperor of India, became a pirate, and infesting the coast of Bombay, he plundered indiscriminately his countrymen, the neighbouring people, and in general all who

who traded in that sea. On this coast he easily took possession of some little islands, or rather rocks of difficult access. One of these he fortified with a ditch cut in the solid rock. The bastions were strengthened by walls ten or twelve feet thick, and mounted with cannon. Here he deposited his booty. His son and grandson continued the same trade, and with greater success. One entire province lying at the back of Bombay was subdued by the latter. Vagabond Marattas, Indians, renegado Christians, and Negroes flocked in great numbers to this piratical republic, which became almost equal to that of Algiers. The fortune of the Angrias afford an instance of what valour may effect in the prosecution of conquests both by sea and land. We behold two robbers successively establishing powerful governments in the north and south of India. The one is Abdalah in the neighbourhood of Cabosil, the other Angria on the coast of Bombay. But how many states have risen to great dominion from beginnings equally inconsiderable?

The honour of the English required that they should send out fleets against these new
con-

conquerors. This war (for it was a contest of sufficient importance to merit such a name) was began by admiral James in 1755, and concluded by admiral Watson. In it captain Clive, so much celebrated since that time, distinguished himself by his military talents. All the retreats of those illustrious robbers were successively taken. In their capital fortress was found an immense quantity of merchandize, two hundred cannon, a large arsenal, with gold, diamonds, pearls and spiceries, to the amount of a hundred and fifty millions of livres. What could scarcely be collected from the whole coast of Coromandel and from Peru, was deposited in this rock. Angria himself escaped; but his mother, wife, and children, were taken prisoners by admiral Watson, who, as we may well believe, treated them with humanity. The youngest of the children, on hearing that Angria could not be found, threw his arms round the admiral's neck, saying, *then you will be to me instead of a father.* Mr. Watson, understanding by an interpreter the meaning of the words which the child spoke, was so much affected as to shed tears; and he became in effect a father to the whole family.

family. This fortunate and memorable achievement of the British arms was counterbalanced by a disaster in their principal settlement in Bengal.

A dispute arose between the English factory at Calcutta upon the Ganges, and the soubah of Bengal, who imagined from the confidence with which they appeared to act, that they had a considerable garrison in that place; the city however contained only a council of merchants, and about three hundred soldiers. Against this small force marched the most powerful prince in India, with sixty thousand troops, three hundred cannon, and three hundred elephants.

Drake, the governor of Calcutta, was a Governor man very different from the celebrated admiral of that name. He professed the religion of those respectable Pennsylvanians whom we distinguish by the title of quakers, This primitive sect, who inhabit Philadelphia in America, and whose humanity reflects reproach on the other quarters of the world, entertains the same horror with the Bramins at shedding human blood. They consider war as a crime. Drake was an intelligent merchant and an honest man. Hitherto he had

had concealed his religion; but now declaring it, the council insisted that he should go on board a vessel in the Ganges for safety.

Who could imagine that the moguls in the first attack would lose twelve thousand men? Accounts of the engagement however confirm it. If such be really the fact, nothing can more fully evince what we have so often mentioned of the superiority of the Europeans. But the garrison could not possibly hold out long: the city was taken, and all the inhabitants were put in irons. Among the captives, a hundred and forty-six English officers and factors were thrown into a dungeon called the *black hole*. They

Fatal effects of putrid air.

experienced the fatal effects of hot and confined air; or rather of the vapour that continually perspired from their bodies. An hundred and twenty-three men were destroyed by this noxious exhalation in a few hours. Boerhaave, in his chemistry, relates an instance yet more remarkable of the same kind. It is of a man who was killed by the steams in a sugar-bakehouse the very moment that the door was shut. This malignity of confined air shews the necessity of ventilators, especially in hot climates; and the great

great danger of suffocation not only in prisons, but at public entertainments, when the house is much crouded, and also in churches where the abominable custom prevails of burying the dead, from whose bodies noxious vapours are exhaled *.

Mr. Holwell, deputy-governor of Calcutta, was one of those who escaped the effects of this sudden contagion. He, with twenty-two officers of the factory, all in a deplorable situation, was carried to Mouzadabad, the capital of Bengal. The soubah having compassion upon them ordered their irons to be struck off. Holwell offered him

* At Saulieu, in Burgundy, in the month of June 1773, about sixty children being assembled in the church for the purpose of taking their first sacrament, a grave was opened for an interment. Such malignant vapours arose from the dead bodies which had been exposed in digging, that the curate, the vicar, forty children, and two hundred parishioners who entered the church at the time, if we may give credit to the public papers, were killed by the exhalation. Shall this terrible warning not to pollute the churches with dead bodies, continue to be disregarded in France? To bury in churches was formerly reckoned sacrilege: how long shall the horrible practice be regarded as an act of piety?

a ransom, but the prince refused to accept it, saying, that they had already suffered too much, without being obliged to pay for their liberty.

Holwell
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who has
well un-
derstood
the tenets
of the an-
cient
Brac-
mans.

This is the same Holwell who has acquired not only the language of the modern Bramins, but also that of the Bracmans of antiquity. It is he who has since written such valuable memoirs of India; and who has translated some sublime passages of the first books composed in the sacred language, more ancient than those of Sanchoniathon of Phœnicia, the Egyptian Mercury, and the earliest legislators of China. The learned Bramins of Benares reckon these books to be about five thousand years old.

On this occasion, gratitude induces me to acknowledge how much the world is indebted to a man who made a voyage to India merely for the sake of information. He has unveiled to us what lay concealed for so many ages: he has done more than Pythagoras, and Apollonius of Thiana. We would advise every person who is desirous of instruction on the subject, to read attentively the ancient allegorical fables, the original source of all the fables which have been substituted.

stituted in the room of truth in Persia, Chaldaea, Egypt, Greece, and among the smallest and most contemptible herds, as among the greatest and most flourishing nations. These objects are more worthy the attention of a wise man *, than the disputes about muslin and calico, which we shall be obliged, however, to mention in the course of this work.

To return to the revolution in India: the Joubah, whose name was Suraja-Doulah, was by birth a Tartar. It is said, that after the example of Aurengzebe, he had formed

* We would not be understood as if we gave implicit faith to every thing which Mr. Holwell relates. No person whatever is entitled to such unlimited credit. But he has proved that the Gangarides wrote a system of mythology, good or bad, five thousand years ago, as the learned and judicious jesuit Parennin has demonstrated that the Chinese were re-united into a community about that period: and if at that time they were, they must necessarily have been so before; great colonies are not formed in a day. It becomes not us, who were only barbarians when these people were learned and refined, to dispute their antiquity. It is possible, that amidst the multitude of revolutions which happen in the world, Europe might have cultivated the arts and known the sciences before Asia; but we find no evidence of such a fact, and Asia is full of ancient monuments.

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the design of making himself master of all India. That he was extremely ambitious there is no question. We are farther informed that he looked with contempt on his feeble and pusillanimous emperor, and that he hated equally all those foreign merchants who came to avail themselves of, and encrease the confusion of the empire. After taking the fort of the English, he threatened those of the Dutch and French. They purchased their safety for sums of money, which may be considered as very moderate in that country: the French for about six hundred thousand livres; and the Dutch, as being more opulent, for twelve hundred thousand franks. At this time the soubah entertained no design of destroying them. He had in his army a kinsman of his own and of the great mogul, a rival in ambition, and more to be dreaded than a company of merchants. In the transaction above-mentioned, Suraiadoulah conducted himself in the same manner as several Turkish viziers and sultans of Constantinople, who have sometimes declared the resolution of driving all the ambassadors of the powers of Europe, and all their factories out of the Turkish dominions, but

but permitted them to remain in the country on paying dearly for the privilege.

As soon as the dangerous situation of the English on the Ganges was known at Madras, they immediately dispatched to their assistance by sea all the men who could be levied capable of bearing arms. ^{The English avenged.}

Mr. de Buffy, who was in that quarter with some troops, availed himself of the conjuncture. He and Mr. Law seized on all the English factories beyond Mazulipatam, on the coast of the great province of Orixá, between those of Golconda and Bengal. This seasonable success restored in some degree the strength of the company, which otherwise must have soon been destroyed.

In the mean time admiral Watson and colonel Clive, conquerors of Angria and deliverers of the whole coast of Malabar, arrived also at Bengal by the sea of Coromandel. They were informed in their passage that there was no returning to the city of Calcutta without coming to an engagement with the enemy; in consequence of which they crowded all their sails. Thus in a little time the flames of war spread from

Surat to the mouth of the Ganges, over a territory about a thousand leagues in circumference, as happens so often in Europe among christian princes, whose interests are perpetually changing and clashing with each other, to the misfortune of mankind.

When admiral Watfon and colonel Clive arrived in the road of Calcutta, they found that good quaker governor of the city, and those who took refuge with him, retreated into some crazy barks on the Ganges, whither the enemy did not pursue them. The soubah had an hundred thousand soldiers, with cannon and elephants, but no boats. The English who were driven from Calcutta waited patiently on the Ganges, till succours arrived to them from Madras: the admiral supplied them with provisions, of which they stood in need. The colonel, joined by the officers of the fleet and the sailors who increased his little army, made haste to encounter the whole force of the soubah; but meeting only with one raia, governor of the city, he put him to flight. This strange governor, instead of retreating into the city, went and alarmed the prince's camp, telling them that the English whom he had met were

were very different from those that had been taken at Calcutta.

If we may credit the memoirs of the Remark-
times and the public papers, colonel Clive ^{able letter}
confirmed the prince in this opinion, by ^{from co-}
writing to him in the following terms. ^{lonel}
^{Clive to}
" An English admiral, who commands an ^{a fove-}
invincible squadron, and a soldier, whose

name you know, are come to punish you for your cruelties. You had better make atonement to us than wait the issue of our revenge." He might well hazard this bold and oriental stile. The soubah knew that his competitor, whom we have already mentioned, a very powerful raia in his army, and whom he dared not to arrest, already negociated secretly with the English. He answered this letter only by giving battle. The victory was undetermined between an army consisting of about eighty thousand men, and one of about four thousand, half English, and half seapoys. They entered then upon a treaty, in which he who had most address would reap the greatest advantage. The soubah restored Calcutta and the prisoners, but he maintained a secret correspondence with Mr. de Buffy; and

colonel, or rather general Glive on his part negociated likewise a private treaty with the soubah's rival. The name of this rival was Jaffier; he wanted to ruin the soubah his kinsman and dethrone him. The intention of the soubah was to destroy the English with the assistance of the French his new friends, and afterwards also to destroy the latter. Here follow the articles of the singular treaty which the mogul prince Jaffier signed in his tent.

A bargain
made for
a king-
dom, and
confirmed
by an oath
on the
Alcoran.

“ In the presence of God and his prophet, I Jaffier, &c. swear that I will observe this convention as long as I live.

“ I shall consider the enemies of the English as my own, &c.

“ To indemnify them for the loss which they sustained by *Levia-Oda*, I shall give an hundred lacks, (twenty-four millions of French livres.)

“ To the inhabitants, fifty lacks (twelve millions.)

“ To the Moors and the Gentoos in the service of the English, twenty lacks (four millions eight hundred thousand livres.)

“ To the Armenians who trade to Calcutta, seven lacks (sixteen hundred and eighty

eighty thousand.) The whole amounting to about forty-two millions, four hundred and eighty thousand.

“ I shall pay these several sums in hand immediately on their making me soubah of those provinces.

“ The admiral, the colonel, and four other officers (whose names are mentioned) may dispose of this money as they think proper.”

This article was stipulated with the view of saving them from all reproach.

Besides these presents, the soubah patronized by colonel Clive, extended greatly the territories of the company. Mr. Dupleix obtained nothing like such advantages, when he created nabobs.

We do not find that the English officers swore to this treaty on the Bible: perhaps they had none; besides, this was rather a billet for a porter than a treaty.

The soubah Suraia-Doulah on his part actually sent pecuniary succours to Messrs. de Buffly and Law, while his rival Jaffier gave nothing but promises. He would have caused Jaffier to be assassinated; but that prince kept too strong a guard round his person

person for the project to succeed. The one and the other, amidst all the excess of their mutual hatred and distrust, took a solemn oath of inviolable friendship on the Alcoran.

Lord
Clive's
victory.

The soubah himself, deceived and willing to deceive, led Jaffier against the English troops, which could not be called an army. At length, on the 30th of June a decisive battle was fought between him and colonel Clive. The soubah was defeated: they took from him his cannon, his elephants, his baggage, his artillery. Jaffier commanded a separate camp: he did not engage, but cunningly kept aloof, that it might be in his power to avail himself of the issue of the action: if the soubah proved victorious, he would join with him; if the English were conquerors, theirs was the cause which he would espouse. The successful party pursued the soubah from the field of battle as far as his capital Mouxadabad, which they entered immediately after him. Himself eluded the pursuit, and wandered a miserable fugitive for some days. Colonel Clive saluted Jaffier soubah of the three provinces of Bengal, Golconda, and Orixa, a territory equal to any of the finest kingdoms in the world.

Suraia-Doulah the dethroned prince fled alone, without succour and without hope. Being informed of a cave where lived a holy faquir (a Mahometan hermit) Doulah took refuge in the habitation of this saint. He was struck with astonishment at finding the faquir to be a culprit whose nose and ears he had formerly caused to be cut off. The prince and saint were reconciled by means of some money; but to profit as much as possible by the incident, the faquir gave notice to the conqueror of the fugitive's retreat. Doulah was taken, and condemned to death by Jaffier: his prayers and his tears A sove-
 availed nothing; he was executed without reign
 mercy, after pouring water upon his head, condemn-
 according to a whimsical ceremony, prac- ed to
 tised from time immemorial on the banks of prison,
 the Ganges, where the people have always
 ascribed to water very singular properties.
 This is a sort of purification imitated since
 by the Egyptians: it is the origin of the
 lustral water among the Greeks and Ro-
 mans. Among the papers of this unfor-
 tunate prince they discovered all his cor-
 respondence with Messrs. Buffy and Law.

During

The
French
lose
Chander-
nagor.

During the course of this expedition general Clive hastened to the conquest of Chandernagor, a post of the greatest importance which the French had at that time in India; filled with a prodigious quantity of merchandize, and defended by an hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, five hundred French soldiers and seven hundred blacks.

Clive and Watson had not more than four hundred men at most; yet at the end of five days the place was obliged to surrender. The capitulation was signed the 23d of March 1757, by the general and admiral on one side, and on the other by Fournier, Nicholas, la Potiere, and Caillot. The commissaries requested that the conqueror would permit the Jesuits to remain in the city. Clive replied, that the Jesuits could not be indulged with that exemption, but would have liberty to go wherever they pleased.

The merchandise found in the magazines was sold for a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. The whole success of the English in this part of India was chiefly owing to the attention of the celebrated Clive.

Clive. The highest respect was entertained for his name at the court of the great mogul, who sent him an elephant loaded with magnificent presents, and a patent appointing him a raia. The king of Great Britain created him an Irish peer. It was he who in the late debates on the subject of the East-India Company, answered those who demanded an account of the millions which he had acquired with glory: I have given one to my secretary, two among my friends, and reserved the remainder for myself.

In another session he said, No person shall attack my honour with impunity: let my judges not forget their own. Almost all the principal servants of the East-India Company have behaved in the same manner. Their profusion has equalled their riches. The proprietors suffer, but England gains by them; since at the expiration of a few years each returns to spend in his own country what he has amassed on the banks of the Ganges, and the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar: just as the immense treasure obtained by admiral Anson on his voyage round the world, and those which other admirals have acquired by captures, increased the opulence of the nation.

Ever since the victory of lord Clive, the English have ruled in Bengal; and all the nabobs who attacked them have been repulsed. At London, however, fears have been entertained lest the company be ruined by the excess of their good fortune, as the French have been by discord, famine, the smallness of succours which were late in arriving, and the continual change of ministers, who having but confused and wrong ideas of Indian affairs, blindly reversed the orders of their predecessors, which had been issued with the same indiscretion.

All the misfortunes of the state necessarily affected the company. The government could not sufficiently assist them when the French were defeated in Germany, when in America they lost Canada, Martinico, and Guadaloupe, and in Africa, Goree, with all their settlements on the Senegal; when many of their ships were taken, and lastly, when the king and the citizens were reduced to sell their plate to raise money for the payment of the army; a poor resource in the midst of so great calamities.

ARTICLE XIII.

*Arrival of general Lally—his success—
the obstacles he met with—conduct of
Lavaur a Jesuit.*

AFFAIRS were in this situation when general Lally and d'Aché, with a squadron under his command, after passing some time at the isle of Bourbon, entered the road of Pondichery the 28th of April 1758. The ship named le Comte de Provence, on board of which was the general, was saluted with cannon loaded with ball, whereby she received much damage. This strange mistake, or mischievous contrivance of some subalterns, was a bad omen for the sailors who are always superstitious, and even for Lally who was not so.

This commander had in view the baton of a marshal of France, which he expected to obtain if he could produce a revolution in the affairs of India, and retrieve the honour of the French arms, at that time but feebly maintained in the other quarters of the world. His secondary passion was a desire

desire of humbling the English greatness, to which he was an implacable enemy.

Lally begins with besieging three places, which he takes.

Immediately on his arrival he laid siege to three places: one of these was Gondelour, a small fort four leagues from Pondichery: the second St. David, a fortress much more considerable; the third Divicotey, which surrendered on his approach. It was a flattering circumstance, that in his first expeditions he had under his command, a count d'Estaing, descended from him who saved the life of Philip Augustus at the battle of Bovine, and who transmitted to his family the coat of arms used by the kings of France: a Crillon, great grandson of Crillon surnamed the Brave, who was worthy of being beloved by the great Henry the fourth: a Montmorency: a Conflans, whose family is ancient and illustrious: a la Fare, and many other officers of the first rank. It had not been the custom to send into India young gentlemen of great distinction. It is certain that they ought to have had with them more troops and more money. Count d'Estaing however took Gondelour in one day; and next day the general, accompanied by this band of noble youth, marched to the siege of the important fort of St. David.

The hostile operations of the French and English proceeded without interruption. While count d'Estaing took Gondelour, an English squadron, commanded by admiral Pococke, attacked that of count d'Aché in the road of Pondichery. Men wounded or killed, masts broken, sails torn, and rigging rendered useless, were the only effects of this indecisive battle. The two shattered fleets remained in their station; equally incapable of annoying each other. The French was in the worst condition: they had only forty men killed; but five hundred were wounded, among whom were count d'Aché and his captain. After the battle they had also the misfortune to lose a seventy-four gun vessel, which shipwrecked on the coast. But what is a clear proof that the French admiral shared with the English in the honour of the day was, that the English admiral did not attempt to throw any succours into the fort of St. David in the time of the siege.

A sea
battle be-
tween
admiral
Pococke
and
d'Aché,
29 April,
1758.

At Pondichery the want of almost every thing opposed the general's enterprize. He demanded bombs, mortars, implements of all sorts; but there was none to be had.

H

The

1758.

The siege was necessarily postponed, and there seemed to be ground for apprehending that they would be obliged to abandon it altogether; they even had no money to support the war. The two millions sent over in the fleet to the treasury of the company were spent; the council of Pondichery having applied them to the discharge of pressing debts, which was a step judged necessary for reviving their exhausting credit. Intimation was dispatched to Paris, that if they could not be assisted with ten millions, all would be lost. On the 24th of May, the governor of Pondichery for the mercantile department, successor to Godeheu, wrote the following letter to the general, which he received in the trenches.

“ My resources are exhausted, and we have now nothing to expect but from some fortunate event. In a country ruined by a war of fifteen years, where is it possible to find money for defraying the charges of your army, and supplying the wants of a squadron, by which we expected succours of different kinds, and which on the contrary is destitute of every thing ?”

This letter alone explains the cause of all the disasters they had experienced, and like-

wife of all which followed. The more the want of necessaries was felt in the city, the more they blamed the general for undertaking the siege of St. David.

Notwithstanding so many obstacles, the ^{13 June,} general obliged the commandant to sur-^{1758.}render. They found in St. David an hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, provisions of all kinds, which were wanted at Pondichery; and money, which was yet more wanted. There were three hundred thousand livres in cash, and as much in effects, which were remitted to the treasurer of the company. We here mention only the facts in which both parties agree.

Count Lally caused the fortress to be demolished, with all the farm-houses in the neighbourhood, in consequence of an order from the minister; a dangerous order, which soon excited fatal reprisals. Fort St. David being taken, the general immediately made the proper dispositions for the conquest of Madras. He wrote to Mr. Bussy, who was in the remote part of Decan: "As soon as I am master of Madras, I repair to the Ganges either by sea or land. My policy is contained in these words: *more of the Eng-*

liff in the peninsula." His ardour at that time could not be indulged; the fleet was no way in a condition to second him. It had lately been engaged in another action near Pondichery still more disadvantageous than the former. Count d'Aché here received two wounds; and in this bloody battle he had, with only five shattered vessels, sustained the efforts of a body of marines that were twice the number of his own. After this engagement he applied to the council of the city for provisions, materials for refitting his ships, and for workmen; but he obtained nothing. The naval commander was not better furnished with necessaries by this exhausted company than the general of the land forces. He proceeded to the isle of France opposite to the coast of Africa, in quest of what he could not procure in Asia. At one extremity of the coast of Coromandel is a fine province called Tanjaour. The raia of this country, to whom the French and English gave the title of king, is a very rich prince. The company pretended that he owed them about thirteen millions of French money.

The governor of Pondichery for the Conduet,
 company desired that the general would ^{letters} and dis-
 march to demand payment of this money ^{course of}
 sword in hand. A French Jesuit, named La- ^{the Jesuit}
 vaur, superior of the missionaries in India, ^{Lavaur.}
 assured him by word of mouth, and by letter,
that providence would prosper the undertaking in
a very visible manner. We shall have occasion
 hereafter to speak of this Jesuit, who acted a
 great and fatal part in all these expeditions.
 Suffice it at present to say that the general, in
 his route, crossed the territories of another
 small prince, whose nephews a little before had
 offered the company four lacks of rupees
 (about a million of livres) to put them in
 possession of their uncle's lands, and drive
 him out of the country. The Jesuit warmly
 exhorted count Lally to this good work.
 Here follows one of his letters word for
 word. "The law of succession in this
 country is superior force. The expulsion
 of a prince is not to be considered in the
 same light here as in Europe." In another
 letter he says, "People ought not to toil
 only for the glory of his Majesty's arms.
 A word is enough to the wise." These

little strokes discover the genius of the country and of this Jesuit.

The prince of Tanjaour had recourse to the English of Madrafs. They were preparing to make a diversion ; and he had time to throw some succours into his capital, which was threatened with a siege. The small French army not receiving from Pondichery either provisions, or necessary ammunition, were obliged to abandon that enterprize : providence did not prosper it so much as the Jesuit pretended. The company got neither the money of the prince, nor that of the two nephews who were desirous of dispossessing their uncle.

Remark-
able dan-
ger of
general
Lally.

While they were preparing to retreat, a negro of the country, commandant of a troop of negro cavalry in Tanjaour, came up to the advanced guard of the French camp, followed by fifty horsemen : he said that he wanted to speak with the general, and to enter into his service. The count, who was in bed, went out of his tent almost naked, with a small thorn stick in his hand. The negro captain made a blow at him with a sabre, which he could scarcely ward off, and the other negroes poured upon him. At this instant the general's guard came running

up: they killed almost all the assassins. This was the only fruit of the Tanjaour expedition.

ARTICLE XIV.

Count Lally lays siege to Madras—the beginning of his misfortunes.

AT length, after unprofitable incursions and attempts in this part of India, notwithstanding the distance of the French fleet, with which count d'Aché had sailed to the isles of Bourbon and France, where an invasion of the English was apprehended, the general resumed his favourite project of besieging Madras.

“ You have not a sufficiency of money and provisions,” they told him: he replied, “ we shall procure them both in the city.” Some members of the council of Pondichery raised a loan of thirty-four thousand rupees (about eighty-two thousand livres.) The farmers in the villages, or the aldees *, be-

* Aldee is an Arabic word in use among the Spaniards. The Arabs who went to India introduced into that country many of the terms of their own language. An etymology well authenticated sometimes serves to prove the emigrations of a people.

longing to the company, also advanced some money. To this fund the general contributed out of his own purse. By forced marches, they arrived unexpectedly before the city.

Madras, it is known, is distinguished into two districts very different from each other. The first, where stands fort St. George, was very badly fortified ever since the expedition of la Bourdonnaye. The second, which is much larger, is inhabited by all the foreign merchants. Madras is called the Black City, on account of the great number of the people of that complexion who reside in it. The large extent of ground which it occupies did not permit its being strongly fortified. One wall and a ditch were its whole defence. This great and opulent city was taken by surprize and plundered.

Madras
taken 13
Decem-
ber, 1758.

We may easily imagine what excesses and barbarities were committed by the soldiers, who on occasions of this sort are ungovernable, and think they have a right to the perpetration of murder, rapes, rapine, and every kind of outrage. The officers restrained them as much as possible; but what
most

most effectually curbed their licentiousness was, that they had scarcely entered this low city when they were obliged to act in their own defence. The garrison of Madras fell upon them; an engagement succeeded from street to street; houses, gardens, Christian churches, Indian and Moorish temples, all were so many fields of battle, where the assailants, loaded with plunder, disorderly encountered those who came to deprive them of their prey. Count d'Estaing was the foremost to attack an English troop which marched along the great street. The battalion of Lorraine, which he commanded, was not yet collected; he fought almost alone, and was taken prisoner; an event which drew upon him greater misfortunes: for being a second time taken by the English at sea, and carried to England, he was thrown into a dungeon at Portsmouth; a treatment unworthy of his name, his valour, his manners, and of the English generosity.

The taking of count d'Estaing at the beginning of the fight, might have been followed by the total loss of the little army, which, after having surprised the Black City,

was

was itself surpris'd in its turn. The general, accompanied by all the French noblesse whom we have mentioned, re-established good order. They drove the English as far as a bridge which stands between fort St. George and the Black City. The chevalier de Crillon ran to the bridge, where they killed fifty of the English. Thirty of the latter were taken prisoners, and the French remained masters of the city.

The hope of speedily taking fort St. George, as had been done by la Bourdonnaye, animated all the officers; and what was remarkable, five or six thousand of the inhabitants of Pondichery ran to this expedition from curiosity, with the same eagerness as if they were going to a feast. The force of the besiegers consisted only of two thousand seven hundred European infantry, and three hundred horse. They had no more than ten mortars and twenty cannon. The city was defended by sixteen hundred Europeans, and two thousand five hundred seapoys; so that the besieged were stronger by eleven hundred men. It is a common rule in tactics, that in general there ought to be five besiegers to one besieged. There are very few exam-

examples of a city being taken by a number only equal to that of the force which defends it: and to succeed in the attempt without provisions, is not more extraordinary.

The most unfortunate circumstance of all was, that two hundred men deserted from the French into fort St. George. There is no army whatever where desertion is more frequent than in the French; whether it be owing to the natural fickleness of the nation, or to the hope of better treatment elsewhere. These deserters appeared sometimes upon the ramparts with a bottle of wine in one hand, and a purse in the other; they exhorted their countrymen to follow their example. Now was seen for the first time, a tenth part of the besieging army taking refuge in the city besieged.

The siege of Madras, undertaken with so much alacrity, was soon considered by all the world as an impracticable attempt. Mr. Pigot, governor of the English company, and governor of the city, promised the garrison fifty thousand rupees if they would make a bold defence, and he was as good as his word. A person who rewards in so liberal a manner,

is better served than he who is destitute of money. Count Lally had no other resource than in attempting an assault. But while they were making preparations for this enterprize, ships of war, detached from the English fleet, which then lay at Bombay, appeared in the port of Madras. These vessels brought reinforcements of men and ammunition. On their approach, the officer who commanded the trench abandoned it. There was a necessity for raising the siege in haste, and going to defend Pondichery, which could be more easily attacked by the English than Madras had been by the French.

Siege of
Fort St.
George
raised
April 17,
1759.

The design of making any more conquests near the Ganges was now laid aside. Lally led back his small army, diminished and discouraged, into Pondichery, which was yet more disheartened than the army: he there found nothing but enemies, who did him more harm than he could have suffered from the English. Almost all the council and the servants of the company, exasperated, insulted him in his misfortune. He brought upon himself their resentment by the harsh and violent reproaches which he expressed at not being assisted in his enterprize.

He

He knew, however, that every commander, ^{Outrage} who has but a limited authority, ought to ^{against} treat with circumspection a council which ^{the ge-} shares it with him; and that while he performs bold actions, he should not be above condescending to use soft words. But a series of opposition had chagrined him, and even the employment which he held exposed him to the malice of almost a whole colony, which he had come to defend.

People are always incensed at seeing themselves under the command of a stranger; and the bad disposition of the inhabitants of Pondichery was increased by the instructions the general had received from his court. He had orders to watch the conduct of the council. The directors of the East India Company at Paris had given him injunctions relative to the abuses which are inseparable from an administration so far removed from the center of government. Had he been a man of the smoothest temper possible, he would have been hated. His letter, dated the 14th of February, to Mr. de Leirit, governor of Pondicherry, before the raising of the siege, rendered his hatred implacable. The letter concluded with these words. *I would rather*

go and command the Caffres of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom of yours, which it is impossible but the fire of the English will destroy sooner or later, should it escape that of heaven.

The failure of his attempt upon Madras rankled every wound he received. The people would admit of no excuse for his being unfortunate; and on his part, he could not forgive their hatred of him. The officers soon joined in the general clamour; those of the Indian battalion, a troop belonging to the company, were particularly virulent: they unluckily got intelligence of the instructions which had been sent to him from the minister. *You are very careful,* said they, *to conceal every expedition from the company's troops. You have reason to apprehend that the want of subordination and discipline, together with their avarice, should induce them to commit faults, and you act wisely in preventing actions which, if perpetrated, you would be obliged to punish.* Every thing concurred to render the general odious, without procuring him respect.

Full of the project of driving the English out of India, though destitute of all the means that were necessary for conducting so
great

great an enterprize, before he set out for Madrafs, he begged of brigadier Buffy to lend him five millions of livres upon his own security. Mr. de Buffy, like a prudent man, did not think proper to risk so great a sum of money upon the contingency of so precarious a conquest; he well enough knew that a letter of exchange, signed Lally, payable at Madrafs or Calcutta, would never be accepted by the English. There are circumstances in which if you lend money, you raise a secret enemy against yourself; or if you refuse it, a declared foe. The indiscretion of the demand, and the necessity of not complying with it, produced between the general and the brigadier an aversion, which degenerated into an irreconcilable hatred, and could be of no service in re-establishing the affairs of the company. Many other officers complained bitterly: they became outrageous against the general; they loaded him with reproaches, anonymous letters, and satires. He sickened of vexation; during four months he was troubled with a feverish indisposition, attended with a violent disorder in his head; and for his consolation they still continued to insult him.

ARTICLE XV.

Additional misfortunes of the India Company.

IN this dismal situation, increased by that of Pondichery, the general formed new schemes for carrying on the campaign. To the assistance of the considerable settlement of Mazulipatam, sixty leagues north of Madras, he dispatched Mr. de Moracin, a civil and military officer, a man of conduct and resolution, capable either of encountering or avoiding the English fleet, which reigned mistress of the sea. Moracin was one of his most violent and avowed enemies ; but the general was reduced to such a condition that he scarcely had it in his power to employ any who was not equally disaffected. This officer, who was a member of the council, set out with five hundred men, seapoys and sailors ; but Mazulipatam being already taken *, Moracin proceeded eighty leagues

* We avoid entering into a detail of all the jarrings between Messrs. Lally and Moracin, Moracin and L'etrit, and their different recriminations. To relate the various dissensions of the Europeans in India, would make

further, in a vessel belonging to himself, in order to make war with a raïa, who was in debt to the company. The issue was, that he lost four hundred men and his money.

What sort of princes must these have been, of whom a private European went sword in hand to demand the payment of some millions?

Another example of Indian government yet more extraordinary merits our attention.

Pondichery and Madras, as we have already observed, lie upon the coast of the great nabobship of the Carnatic, which the Europeans call a kingdom. The English party, with at most five or six hundred men of their nation, and the French with the same number of theirs, protected each their own nabob a long time; and the object of dispute was always who should be sovereign.

The chevalier de Soupire, a marshal of the camp, was a considerable time in the province of Arcot, with some French soldiers, blacks, and seapoys, badly armed, and ill paid. The chevalier complained also

make a larger work than the Encyclopedia. People cannot enough extend the limits of science, or confine the bounds of human weakness.

I

that

that they were not clothed; but this was no great hardship in the torrid zone. There is in that province a post which they reckon of the greatest importance; it is the fortress of Vandavachi, which covered the French settlements. Vandavachi is situated in a small island formed by rivers. The French colony was yet mistress of this place: the English came to attack it: the chevalier de Soupire repulsed them in a smart action, which at least protracted the approaching ruin of the French.

Sept.
1759.

The two nabobs for whom they fought, were each an hundred leagues from the field of battle; a circumstance which seldom happens any where but in India. Pondichery breathed a little after this small success; but the fleet commanded by count d'Aché having returned to the coast, was again attacked by admiral Pococke, and suffered more in this engagement than in the former: for one of his largest ships took fire, and had her rigging destroyed; four vessels belonging to the company sheered off. The count, however, got clear of admiral Pococke, who, notwithstanding the superiority of his force, could not take any of the French ships.

Third
naval bat-
tle. The
French
fleet still
worsted,
1759.

Count

Count d'Aché then proposed repairing again to the isles of Bourbon and France, which continued to be threatened with an invasion. It was necessary to fight in every sea for the interests of commerce. The council of Pondichery protested against the admiral's departure, and declared him to be answerable for the ruin of the Company, as if he had the elements and the English fleets at his command. The admiral let the merchants protest: he gave them ^{Sept. 16,} the little money he had brought with him, ¹⁷⁵⁹ and debarking about eight hundred men, immediately proceeded for the isle of France. Pondichery, destitute of ammunition and provisions, remained in disorder and consternation. The past, the present, and future state of the city, were objects of terror to the minds of all the inhabitants.

The troops which covered Pondichery ^{Revolt of the troops} revolted. This was not one of those tumultuous seditions which begin and end without reason. Necessity seemed to drive them to this step, as the only one by which they could obtain money and the means of subsistence. " Give us, they cried, bread and our pay, or we shall go and ask them of the ^{Oct. 1759} English."

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I 2 English."

English." The soldiers in a body wrote to the general, that they would wait four days ; at the end of which time, if they were not supplied, they would march to Madras.

It has been alledged, that this revolt was fomented by a Jesuit missionary named St. Esteven, jealous of Father Lavour, his superior, who on his part betrayed the general as much as St. Esteven betrayed both. This conduct by no means corresponds with the pure zeal about which so much is said in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, and with the great number of miracles by which this zeal has been recompensed.

However that may be, there was a necessity for finding money: seditions in India are not to be appeased with words. The director of the finances, named Boyelau, gave what little he had of gold and silver. The chevalier Crillon lent four thousand rupees ; Mr. de Gadeville as much. Mr. Lally, who fortunately had fifty thousand francs, gave them, and prevailed with the Jesuit Lavour, his secret enemy, to lend thirty-six thousand livres, which he had reserved either for his own use, or his missions ; the whole to be reimbursed

imbursed by the company, if ever they should be in a condition. Ten months pay was due to the troops, and this pay was considerable. It amounted to upwards of a crown a day to each horseman, and thirteen sous to every private man in the infantry. This minute detail may appear trifling, but is necessary.

The insurrection continued seven days, Jan. 22, 1760, and greatly weakened the attachment of the soldiers to the interest of their country. To this fatal place the English returned from Vandavachi, and giving battle a second time, they obtained a complete victory. Mr. de Buffy, the man of greatest consequence to the company and the army, was taken prisoner. The situation of affairs was now desperate.

After this defeat, the cavalry again continued, and resolved to go over to the English; preferring the service of the conquerors, by whom they were certain of being well paid, to that of the vanquished, who were still considerably in their debt. The general brought them back a second time, by means of his money, though there yet
 I 3 were.

were many whom he could not prevent from deserting*.

Disaster upon disaster followed rapidly for the space of a whole year. The company lost

* Whence proceeds this rage of deserting? Does the love of our country abate in proportion to the distance we are from it? The soldier who yesterday fired upon his enemies, fires to-morrow upon his countrymen. A new duty arises either of killing other men or of being killed by them. But for what reason was there so many Swifs among the English troops, and not one among those of France? Why, amongst these Swifs, united to France by repeated treaties, should there be found so many officers and soldiers who have served the English against France in Asia and America?

To what cause, in fine, can it be owing, that in Europe, even during peace, thousands of French have quitted their standards to receive the same pay from a foreign power? The Germans also desert, the Spaniards seldom, the English almost never. It is a thing unheard of for a Turk or Russian to desert.

In the retreat of the ten thousand, amid the greatest dangers and most discouraging fatigues, not one Greek deserted. They all were mercenaries, officers as well as soldiers, who sold themselves for a little money to young Cyrus; a rebel, an usurper. It is left to the reader, and chiefly to those who are skilful in the art of war, to discover the cause and remedy of this contagious evil, for many years more common in France than in any other country, either during peace or war.

all

all its posts; the black troops, the seapoys, the Europeans, deserted in multitudes. Recourse was had to the Marattas, whom in the country of the Mogul each party employs in their turn. We compared them to the Swiss; but if like these they sell their services, and have any thing of their valour, they are not endowed with the same fidelity.

The missionaries meddle with every thing in this part of India. One of them, a Portuguese, and who was dignified with the title of bishop of Halicarnassus, had brought two thousand Marattas. They did not engage at Vandavachi; but to perform some warlike exploit, they plundered all the villages which yet belonged to France, and divided the spoil with the bishop*.

* A Latin bishop of the Greek city of Halicarnassus, which belongs to the Turks! A bishop of Halicarnassus who preaches and who plunders! After these instances, can it be said that the world is not governed by contradictions? This person, whose name was Norogna, was a Cordelier of Goa, who had fled to Rome, where he procured the title of a missionary bishop. Mr. de Lally once said to him, *My dear bishop, how have you managed matters so as neither to be burnt nor hanged?*

We pretend not to give a journal of the petty robberies, and relate the private misfortunes which preceded the taking of Pondichery, and the general calamity. When the pestilence has raged among a people, to what purpose weary the survivors with a recital of all the symptoms which carried so many to the grave? It is sufficient to say that general Lally retreated into Pondichery, and that the English soon blockaded this capital.

A R T I C L E XVI.

An extraordinary event in Surat. The English power prevails in that city.

WHILE the French company was involved in distress, the English, at the distance of five hundred leagues from Pondichery, performed an atchievement which excited the attention of all Asia.

Surat, in the bottom of the gulph of Cambaya, has been ever since the time of Tamerlane the great mart of India, Persia, and Tartary. Even the Chinese frequently
sent

sent thither commodities. It still preserved its former lustre: Armenians and Jews, the brokers of every country, composed the bulk of the inhabitants; and all nations had here their factories. Here assembled all the Mahometan subjects of the great mogul, who were for making a pilgrimage to Mecca. One large vessel, kept by the emperor in the mouth of the river which runs to Surat, carried the pilgrims from thence to the Red Sea. This vessel and the other small Indian ships were commanded by a Caffre, who had brought a colony of his countrymen to Surat.

On the death of this stranger, he was succeeded by his son. Two Caffres successively admirals to the great mogul, without its being known from what part of the African coast they had come! Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the bad government of the mogul, and the cause of his misfortunes. The son exercised a tyrannic power in Surat. The governor could not controul him. All the merchants groaned under his continual and exorbitant extortions. He exacted money from all the pilgrims of Mecca. Such was the weakness of the great mogul, Al-lumgi, in every part of administration, and thus are empires ruined.

At length the pilgrims of Mecca, the Armenians, Jews, and all the inhabitants concurred to solicit the protection of the English against a Caffre, whom the successor of Tamerlane durst not punish. Admiral Pococke, who was then at Bombay, sent two ships of war to Surat. This succour was sufficient, with the troops commanded by captain Maitland, who marched at the head of eight hundred English and five hundred seapoys.

The admiral and his party intrenched themselves in the gardens belonging to the French factory, beyond one of the gates of the city. It was natural, as the English were pursuing him, that the French should afford him sanctuary.

They cannonaded, they bombarded this retreat. There being several factions in Surat, there was reason to fear lest some of them would call in the Marattas, who are always ready to profit by the divisions in the empire. At length accommodating all disputes with each other, they united with the English, and the gates of the castle were opened to them. The French factory in the city did not escape being plundered, but
none

none of those belonging to it lost their lives; and there were killed in the battle only an hundred of the admiral's men, and twenty of the soldiers commanded by captain Maitland.

The Caffres retreated where they could. If it was remarkable that a man of that country should become an admiral of the empire, it was yet more extraordinary that the emperor granted the title and appointments of the admiral to the English company. This place was worth three lacks of rupees, besides some duties. The whole amounted to eight hundred thousand franks a-year. The facility of bringing to it all the trade of Surat made its value twenty times greater.

This strange event seemed to establish the power and elevation of the English in India, at least for a long tract of time; and the company of Pondichery approached fast to destruction.

ARTICLE XVII.

The taking and destruction of Pondichery.

20 March 1760. **W**HILST the English army advanced westward, and a fresh fleet threatened the city on the east, count Lally had very few soldiers. He made use of an artifice not uncommon in war or in civil life; which is that of affecting to have more than one really possesses. He made a shew of great force under the walls of the city on the side of the sea. He commanded all the people belonging to the company to appear in the uniform of soldiers, to impose upon the enemy's fleet which lay in the road.

Third revolt.

The council of Pondichery and all the people employed by the company, declared to him that they could not obey such an order. The latter told him that they acknowledged no person as their master but the governor appointed by the company. Every common citizen thought himself degraded by being a soldier; although in fact it is soldiers who dispose of empires. But the true reason was, that they were desirous of

of opposing in every thing the person who had incurred the public hatred.

This was the third mutiny with which he had been attacked in a few days. He punished the ringleaders only by obliging them to quit the city; but he exasperated them with reproachful language, which people never forget, and which excite them to revenge whenever an opportunity occurs. The general besides discharged the council from assembling without his order. The animosity of this company was now as great as was formerly that of the parliaments of France against those who brought from court severe and often contradictory orders. He had therefore to fight not only with the enemy but the citizens.

Provisions were wanting in the place. He caused all the houses to be searched for the little superfluity which might be found, to supply the troops with necessary subsistence. Those who were employed to retail this pittance did not behave with discretion towards the principal officers, who from their rank and character deserved greater regard. Their minds, before too much irritated, were now provoked to the last

last degree: they exclaimed against the tyranny. Mr. Dubois, intendant of the army, who performed this office, became the object of public execration. When a victorious enemy commands such a search the people dare not murmur; but when the general had recourse to it for saving the city, all revolted against him.

An officer was restricted to half a pound of rice a day; a private soldier to four ounces. There were in the city only three hundred black soldiers, and seven hundred French pressed with hunger, to defend it against four thousand Europeans and ten thousand blacks. A surrender was absolutely inevitable. Lally desperate, agitated with convulsions, his mind overwhelmed and disordered, was desirous of resigning the command, and gave it in charge to brigadier de Landivisiau, who declined accepting so delicate and fatal a commission. Lally was under the necessity of continuing to superintend the distressful affairs of the company. In the midst of this confusion he every day received anonymous letters, threatening him with assassination or poison. He believed himself to be actually poisoned: he fell
into

into epileptic fits ; and the missionary Lavour published through all the city, that they ought to pray to God for that poor Irishman who had lost his senses.

The danger nevertheless increased. The English troops had destroyed the hedge which surrounded the city. The general summoned a council of civil and military officers to deliberate concerning the means of procuring a reasonable capitulation for the city and the company. The council of Pondichery answered only by a refusal. *You have ruined us*, said they ; *we are no longer a people—I have not ruined you*, replied the general : *I prohibited you from assembling without my permission ; and I now command you, in the name of the king, to assemble and form a mixed council, with the view of mitigating your own fate, and that of the whole colony.* The council complied with this summons, which they caused to be signified to him.

“ We summon you, in the name of all the religious orders, of all the inhabitants, and in our own names, to solicit Mr. Coote (the English commander) immediately for a suspension of arms ; and we make you answerable to the king for all the misfortunes which an unseasonable delay may occasion.”

The

The general then called a council of war, composed of the principal officers who were yet in the service: they agreed upon surrendering, but differed about the conditions. Count Lally, incensed against the English, who had violated, he said, more than once the cartel settled between the two nations, made a particular declaration, in which he reproached them with the infraction of treaties. It was bad policy to talk to conquerors of the injuries they had committed, and to exasperate those whom he should have studied to soften; but such was the character of the man. After representing his complaints, he demanded refuge for the mother and sister of a raïa, who had taken shelter in Pondichery, though the raïa had been assassinated in the English camp. He severely reproached them, in his usual manner, for having suffered that act of cruelty. Colonel Coote made no reply to this free declaration. The council of Pondichery, on their part, sent to the English commandant articles of capitulation drawn up by the Jesuit Lavour. The missionary carried them himself. This step might have done well enough at Paraguay, but not with the English.

The Jesuit Lavour proposes a capitulation.

lish. If they were offended with Lally for accusing them of injustice and cruelty, they were yet more offended at seeing an intriguing Jesuit deputed to treat with a victorious army. The colonel did not deign even to read the Jesuit's articles, but he presented his own. They were as follow.

"Colonel Coote insists that the French surrender themselves prisoners of war, to be treated in such a manner as shall be most suitable to the interest of the king his master. He will shew all the indulgence that humanity requires.

"To-morrow morning, between eight and nine o'clock, he will send the grenadiers of his regiment to take possession of the gate Vilnour.

"At the same hour next day, he will take possession of the gate St. Louis.

"The mother and sisters of the raja shall be escorted to Madrafs. All proper care shall be taken of them, and they shall not be delivered into the hands of their enemies. Done at our head quarters, near Pondichery, 15 January, 1761."

There was a necessity for accepting the 16 Janu-
articles proposed by colonel Coote. He^{ary 1761.}

K

entered

entered the city. The little garrison laid down their arms. The colonel did not dine with the general, with whom he was offended, but with the governor of the company, named Mr. Duval de Leirit, and several other members of the council.

The English enter the city.

Mr. Pigot, governor of Madras for the English company, alledged that the right to Pondichery was vested in his constituents: this could not be disputed, because it was he who had paid the troops. He regulated every thing after the conquest. General Lally continued extremely indisposed: he asked permission of the English governor to remain four days in Pondichery: he was refused; it was signified to him that he must depart next day for Madras.

It deserves to be remarked, as something extraordinary, that Pigot was of French extraction, as Lally was of Irish. They both fought against the country of their ancestors.

Lally ill treated by his own people.

The severity shewn to Lally by the conqueror, was the least mortifying of what he suffered. The servants of the company, and the officers of his own troops, whom he had exasperated, all united against him. The former insulted him to the moment of his departure; placading the most virulent accusations, throwing stones at his

windows, and calling him with a loud voice a traitor and a villain. The mob soon increased by those who had assembled from curiosity, and were now heated by the fury of the assailants. They waited for him at a place through which he was to be carried. He lay upon a palanquin, followed at some distance by fifteen of the English light horse, appointed to escort him to Madras. Colonel Coote permitted him to be attended to the gate by four of his own guards. The furious rioters surrounding his couch, poured forth the most bitter invectives, and threatened him with instant death. The scene was such as would excite in the mind of a spectator, the idea of a croud of slaves intent upon killing one of their companions with their irons. He continued his march through them, carrying a brace of pistols in his enfeebled hands. His guards and the English light horse saved his life.

The rioters laid the blame of Lally's conduct on Mr. Dubois, intendant of the army, who came up a little after, a brave officer seventy years of age. He was immediately assassinated; they robbed, they stripped him naked, and buried his body in a garden.

The intendant of the army assassinated.

His papers were seized in his house, and have never been recovered.

While general Lally was conducted to Madras, the servants of the company at Pondichery obtained permission to open his coffers, expecting to find a treasure in gold, diamonds, and bills of exchange. Finding nothing, however, but some trifling furniture, and useless paper, their fury was more inflamed.

March 5,
1761.

Loaded with affliction and disease, Lally, a prisoner at Madras, in vain requested that they would delay transporting him to England: he could not obtain that favour; he was dragged by force on board a merchant vessel, the captain of which treated him inhumanly during the whole passage: they gave him nothing to eat but pork broth. This English captain probably thought it his duty to behave in such a manner to an Irishman in the service of France. In a short time after the officers, the council of Pondichery, and the principal servants of the company, were obliged to follow him; but before their departure they had the mortification of seeing the fortifications which they had erected in the city demolished by the enemy;

of seeing the destruction of their immense magazines, their market places, and of every thing which either was useful in commerce or served for defence; even to their very houses.

Mr. Dupré, appointed governor of Pondichery by the council of Madrafs, pushed on the demolition. He was, as we have been informed, the grandson of one of those French, whom the severity accompanying the revocation of the edict of Nantes induced to go into voluntary exile; and serve against their country. Lewis XIV. little imagined that in the space of about eighty years afterwards the capital of his East-India company would be demolished by a Frenchman.

The Jesuit Lavour might well write to him: "Sir, are you equally urgent to destroy the house where we have a domestic altar for continuing in secret the exercise of our religion?" &c.

Dupré gave himself very little trouble about Lavour's saying the mass *in secret*: he replied that general Lally had razed the town of St. David, and allowed the inhabitants only four days to carry off their effects; that the go-

governor of Madras had granted three months to the inhabitants of Pondichery; that the English at least equalled the French in generosity; but that there was a necessity for their quitting the city, and saving the mass elsewhere. The city was then razed to the foundation, without the French having even the privilege of remaining to lament its fate.

April 13,
1760.

A R T I C L E XVIII.

Lally and the other prisoners brought to England; released on their parole. Criminal process against Lally.

ON their passage, and after arriving in England, the prisoners continued their mutual reproaches, which were now rendered more virulent by despair. The general had his partizans, especially among the officers of his own regiment: almost all the rest were his avowed enemies. Each party wrote to the French ministers, and reciprocally laid on the other the blame of their disaster. The real cause of the misfortune in India, however, was the same as in the other quarters

ters of the world—the superiority of the English fleets, the unremitting obstinacy of the nation, their great credit, their money, and that spirit of patriotism which in the end proves more successful than the thirst of commerce and riches.

General Lally obtained leave from the ~~October~~ English admiralty to embark for France on ¹⁷⁶¹ his parole; and the greater part of his enemies procured the same favour. Their arrival at Paris was preceded by all their mutual complaints and accusations, and a deluge of pamphlets on each side. The partizans of Lally were few, but his adversaries innumerable.

An entire council, two hundred servants of the company destitute of resource, the directors beholding their great establishment reduced to nothing, the stockholders trembling for their fortunes, the officers exasperated; all these inveighed against Lally with the more virulent animosity, as they believed that in losing Pondichery, he had made an acquisition of millions. The women, always less moderate than the other sex in their fears and complaints, exclaimed against the traitor, the public robber, the enemy of his country.

The council of Pondichery in a body presented a petition against him to the comptroller-general. They said in that petition, *It is not the desire of avenging the private injuries and our own personal ruin which animates us, but it is the force of truth, the feelings of our consciences, and the general clamour.*

It appeared, however, that the pure feeling of their consciences was not a little influenced by the grief at having lost their whole fortunes, by personal hatred, perhaps excusable, and by an unjustifiable thirst of revenge.

A very brave officer, of an ancient and noble family, who had been improperly treated by the general, even in an affair which touched his honour, wrote of him in more violent terms than the council of Pondichery. *Behold, said he, what a stranger who has no pretence to fame, to merit, to reputable parentage or rank, but who nevertheless is loaded with honours by his master, prepares for the whole India company. Nothing was unviolated by to his sacrilegious hands. With these he dared to rob the altar of six silver chandeliers and a crucifix, which on the application of the superior of the capuchins the English commander obliged him to restore, &c.*

The general, by his indiscreet passion and injurious reproaches, brought upon himself this heavy accusation. It is true that he caused those chandeliers and the crucifix to be carried to his house, but in so public a manner, that he certainly never meant appropriating to himself such trifling objects, when there were things of infinitely greater importance to attract his attention. Accordingly, in the sentence of condemnation passed upon him, there is no mention of sacrilege.

The reproach of mean extraction was extremely unjust. The patent conferring his title bears the great seal of king James. His family was very ancient. In opposing him, his enemies exceeded the bounds of moderation as much as he had ever done. If any thing can extinguish the prejudice of party, it ought to be this fatal transaction.

It was natural for the minister of the finances to protect a commercial company, whose ruin would be so hurtful to the kingdom: he received a secret order to commit Lally to the Bastile. Lally offered to go thither himself: he wrote to the duke de Choiseul.

Choiseul: *My life is in your power: of my innocence I am conscious; but you may determine of my fate as you think proper. I wait for your orders.*

The duke de Choiseul, minister of war and foreign affairs, was just, beneficent, and generous to excess. His magnanimity was equal to the greatness of his designs; but in a matter so important and complicated, he could not oppose the united clamours of the whole city of Paris, nor disregard the multiplicity of charges brought against the accused. Lally was confined in the same chamber in the Bastille where la Bourdonnaye had formerly been lodged, and he also never was released from it.

The matter of deliberation now was, who should be appointed judges at his trial. A court martial seemed to be the most proper tribunal; but the accused was charged with malversations, with acts of oppression and peculation; of which the marshals of France were not the constitutional judges. Count Lally had at first produced his complaints, so that his adversaries only recriminated. The process was so complicated, and such a number of witnesses to be examined, that the prisoner remained fifteen months in the Bastille, before he was asked one question, or

knew by what court he would be tried. "In this, observed some lawyers, we behold the dismal fate of the subjects of a kingdom famous for arms and arts, but destitute of wholesome laws, or rather, where the excellent ancient laws are sometimes infringed."

The Jesuit Lavour was at this time in Paris. He asked of the government a moderate pension of four hundred francs, that he might devote the remainder of his days to devotion in the remote part of Perigord, where he was born. He died, and they found in his box twelve hundred and fifty thousand livres, besides diamonds and bills of exchange to a great amount. This discovery respecting a superior of the missionaries in the East, with a bankruptcy of a superior of those in the West, named la Valette, which happened at the same time, to the extent of three millions, excited throughout France an indignation against the Jesuits, equal to what raged against Lally, and was one of the causes which at length produced the extinction of that order. In the mean time, however, Lavour's box forwarded the ruin of Lally. In it were found two memoirs, one of which was in favour of the count, and the

Death of
the Jesuit
Lavour.

other accused him of every crime. The one or other of these writings was to be made use of, according as affairs would turn out. Of these contradictory memoirs they carried to the attorney general that which accused the prisoner. This officer presented to the parliament a charge against the count, importing that he had been guilty of oppression of the king's subjects, extortion, and high treason. The parliament referred the affair to the Chatelet in the first instance. Soon after, the king's letters-patent were issued, recommending to the great chamber and the Tournelle assembled, *an enquiry into all the offences committed in India, that the authors of such offences may be punished with all the severity of law.* The word *justice* would perhaps have been more proper than *severity*.

As the attorney-general had inserted in his accusation the crime of high treason, the prisoner was refused counsel, and obliged to manage his defence without any assistance. He was permitted to give it in writing, and unfortunately for his cause, he adopted that method. His writings exasperated his enemies yet farther, and increased the number of his opponents. He
reproached

reproached count d'Aché with being the cause of the loss of India, by not remaining before Pondichery. But this officer had positive orders to defend the isles of Bourbon and France from an invasion with which they were threatened. In him Lally accused a man who had been wounded in three engagements with the English fleet. He also vehemently reproached the chevalier de Soupire, who answered and deposed against him with a moderation equally laudable and uncommon.

At length, in the consciousness of having strictly discharged his duty, he gave loose to the same fury with his pen which he had before indulged in his speech. Had they allowed him the privilege of employing counsel, his defence would have been more circumspect? but he always imagined that a confidence in his own integrity was sufficient defence. He likewise provoked Mr. de Buffy to make a reply to him, which was no less mortifying than well written. All impartial men beheld with regret two brave officers, such as were Messrs. Lally and de Buffy, both of approved valour, and who had exposed their lives to danger a hundred times,

times, pretend to suspect each other of being deficient in courage. Lally shewed too much of this quality by insulting his adversaries in his memoirs. It was fighting alone against a whole army. It was scarcely possible but that so great a multitude would overwhelm him; so deep an impression does the clamour of a whole city make upon the minds of judges, even when they think themselves totally unbiaſſed.

ARTICLE XIX.

Conclusion of the criminal process against Lally. His death.

BY a ſingular fatality, which is perhaps peculiar to France, ſomething ridiculous is always blended with the moſt ſerious tranſactions. Nothing certainly could be more abſurd than to ſee men who were totally ignorant of war, and had never been out of Paris but on an excursion to their country-houſes, examine commanders in the army and navy reſpecting their military operations.

The

The members of the mercantile council of Pondichery, the stockholders of Paris, the directors of the India company, their servants, their wives, their relations, exclaimed to the judges and the friends of the judges, against the commander of an army which scarce consisted of a thousand soldiers, and against that of a squadron in which there was only one of the king's ships. The stocks fell because the general was a traitor, and the admiral had gone to refit, instead of giving battle the fourth time! they repeated the names of Trichnapali, Vandavachi, and Chetoupet. The counsellors of the great chamber purchased bad maps of India, in which no such places were to be found.

They urged it as a crime in Lally, that he had not made himself master of the port of Chetoupet, before he went to Madrafs. Had all the merchants in France been assembled in a body, they would have found it difficult to determine at so great a distance, whether Chetoupet ought to have been besieged or not: and yet this question was proposed to the great chamber! The accusations were so numerous, that it was impossible but among such a multiplicity of In-

dian names, a judge at Paris would often mistake a city for a man, and a man for a city.

The general of the land forces accused the commander of the fleet with being the cause of the fall of stocks, while himself was accused by the whole council of Pondichery with being alone the principal author of their misfortunes.

The admiral was summoned to the court. On being sworn, he was asked why he had placed the *cap to the south*, instead of being *embossed* in the north-east between *Alamparvê* and *Goudelour*? Names which no Parisian had ever heard of before.

With respect to general Lally, they imputed it to him as a crime that he had besieged Goudelour, instead of beginning with the siege of St. David; that he did not march sooner to Madrafs; that he evacuated the post of Cheringan; that he had not sent a reinforcement of three hundred men, blacks or whites, to Mazulipatam; that he capitulated at Pondichery, and that he did not capitulate*.

* Marshal Keith said to an empress of Russia, Madam, if you send into Germany a general who shall prove either treacherous or cowardly, you can order him

It was asked, whether or not Mr. de Soupire, marshal of the camp, continued the military service after the loss of Cangivaron; a post unknown at the Tournelle. It is true, that in interrogating Lally concerning such facts, they told him that these were military operations on which they did not insist. But they did not for that reason refrain from arguments against him. To the more important articles of the charge they added others respecting his private conduct. They reproached him with having broke forth in a fit of passion against a counsellor of Pondichery, who boasted of spilling his blood for the company, and saying to him, "have you blood enough to make a pudding for the king's troops who are in want of bread?" - - - N° 74.

They accused him of having spoken some idle nonsense to another counsellor. N° 87.

Of having sentenced a peruke-maker, who had burnt the shoulder of a negro woman, to be hanged on his return. But if his crime be only incapacity, so much the worse for you, you ought not to have appointed such a man. The fault is your own: he has done what he could; and you owe him thanks for his behaviour.

L

man

man with his hot pincers, to receive a blow with the same instrument upon his shoulder. - - - N° 88.

Of having sometimes been drunk. N° 104.

Of obliging a capuchin to sing in the street. - - - N° 105.

Of having said that Pondichery resembled a brothel, where some people caressed the girls, and others wanted to throw them out at the windows. - - N° 106.

Of having paid some visits to Mrs. Pigot, who had left her husband. - - N° 108.

Of having given rice to his horses, at a time when he had not so much as one horse. - - - N° 112.

Of having once given the soldiers some punch made with the cocoa-nut. N° 131.

Of causing himself to be treated as if he had an abscess of the liver, before any abscess was formed; which, had it ever happened, would have caused his death. N° 147.

With these grievances were mixed more important accusations. That of the greatest consequence was, the having sold Pondichery to the English. As a proof of this transaction, it was urged that during the blockade he had ordered some guns to be fired, of which they

they knew not the reason; and that he had gone the round in the night with the drum beating. - - - N^o 144 and 145.

These accusations were evidently preferred by people full of malice, and who were bad reasoners. The extravagance which they discovered was sufficient to have discredited all the other articles of the charge. We forbear mentioning a thousand little pecuniary matters, which form a mass of confusion more fit to be elucidated by a merchant than an historian. His defence appears to us to have been extremely plausible, and we refer the reader to the sentence itself, which mentions nothing of his being found guilty of speculation.

An hundred and sixty articles of accusation were produced against him: the clamour of the public farther increased their number and weight. The process, notwithstanding its extreme absurdity, was conducted with an air of the greatest solemnity and importance, and the fatal catastrophe approached.

The famous d'Aguesseau, in addressing himself to the magistrates in 1714, said,
Just from the rectitude of your intentions, are you

always exempt from the injustice of prepossession? Is not this a kind of injustice which we may call the error of virtue, and if I may use the expression, the crime of good men?

The word *crime* is too harsh: an honest man never commits a crime, but he may often be guilty of pernicious faults; and where is the man, or society of men, that has not been guilty of such faults?

The judge who reported the cause was considered as a severe, prejudiced, and sanguinary man. Had he merited this reproach in its fullest latitude, the word *crime* would then perhaps not have been too violent. He loved justice, but always of the rigorous kind, and he afterwards repented of his severity. His hands were recently stained with the blood of a child (we may call by that name a young gentleman of seventeen) who had committed an excess which a little more age would have corrected, and six months imprisonment been sufficient to expiate. He it was who had determined fifteen judges against ten to condemn this victim by the most tremendous death, reserved for parricides*.

* The majority of five voices was sufficient to condemn a minor to the accumulated punishment of the
com-

This scene was exhibited among a people reputed sociable, at the very time too when the monster of the inquisition abated of his fierceness, and the barbarous laws of ancient times relented in other countries. All the princes, all the people of Europe were filled with horror at this terrible juridical assassination. This magistrate likewise was struck with remorse for his conduct; but he was not the less unmerciful in the process of count Lally.

This judge and some others were convinced of the necessity of punishment even in the most pardonable cases. It is said that they took pleasure in this severity. Their maxim was, that the accusers ought always to be more credited than the accused; and that if the denial of a fact should be sustained, no person would ever be found guilty. They forgot the answer of the emperor Julian the Philosopher, who had personally

common and extraordinary torture: of having his tongue torn out with pincers, his hand struck off and thrown into the flames. An infant! the grandson of a lieutenant-general who had nobly served the state! and this transaction, more horrible than any thing related of the Cannibals, happened in a nation which is considered as enlightened and humane.

dispensed justice in Paris: *if a bare accusation were sufficient to prove guilt, there would not be one innocent person.*

To judge in the affair of count Lally, it was necessary to read with the greatest attention an enormous heap of papers, a thousand contradictory accounts of military operations performed in places of which the situation and names were unknown to the magistrates; of facts whereof it was impossible that they could form any exact idea; of incidents, of objections, and of replies, which interrupted the narration every moment. It was impossible that each of the judges should examine all these writings; and supposing even that they had the patience to peruse the whole, how few men are capable of unravelling the truth amidst such a multitude of contradictions! In complicated cases, they generally rely upon the opinion of him who makes the report. Death or life, honour or infamy, lie at his disposal.

An advocate-general having read all the papers with unwearied attention, was fully convinced that the prisoner ought to be acquitted. This was Mr. Seguiet, of the same family

family with the chancellor who distinguished himself in the dawn of the Belles Lettres, too slowly cultivated in France, as well as all the arts; a man besides of great understanding, and yet more eloquent than the reporter. He was so much persuaded of the count's innocence, that he spoke of it in high terms before the judges, and through Paris. Mr. Pellot, an old counsellor of the great chamber, a man of the greatest experience and good sense, was entirely of the same opinion with Mr. Seguier.

It has been imagined that the members of the old parliament, irritated by frequent quarrels with general officers, who were charged with announcing to them the orders of the king, banished more than once for their resistance, and still resisting, become at length, almost without knowing it, the natural enemies of all military officers of distinction, would feel a secret pleasure in displaying their power over a man who had exercised unbounded authority. By his punishment all the commanders were affected. People may not avow the sentiments of their heart, but others may sometimes be able to determine what they are.

The viceroy of the French possessions in India was condemned to death at the age of sixty-eight, after having served in the army upwards of fifty years.

5 May,
1766.

When his sentence was pronounced, the excess of his indignation was equal to his astonishment. He inveighed against his judges, in the same manner as he had done against his accusers; and holding in his hand a pair of compasses, which he used for tracing the maps in his prison, he struck it against his heart; but the blow was not sufficient to take away his life. Destined to lose it upon the scaffold, he was dragged, by command of the reporter, into a dung-cart, with a large gag in his mouth, which jutting out upon his lips and disfiguring his visage, formed a frightful spectacle. An inhuman curiosity always draws a croud of people of all ranks to behold such a scene. Many of the inferior class of his enemies came to enjoy it. They had gagged his mouth in this manner to render him incapable of speaking against the judges on the scaffold; and lest, being conscious of his own innocence, he should convince the people of the injustice of his fate,

fate. This dung-cart, and this gag, afforded pleasure to all the inhabitants of Paris; and the death of the unfortunate general excited not the least regret.

The sentence expressed, *that Thomas Arthur Lally was condemned to be beheaded, as being duly attainted and convicted of betraying the interests of the king, the state, and the India company; for the abuse of authority, oppressions, and exactions.* It has been elsewhere observed, that these words *to neglect the interests* do not import an act of treachery, formal treason, or the crime of lese majesty, in short, they do not imply the selling Pondichery to the English, of which he was accused. To neglect the interests of a person, is the same with mismanaging them. It clearly appeared from this whole process, that there was not the least shadow either for the charge of treason, or of peculation. He did not sell the city to the English, to whom he was an implacable enemy, and had always bid defiance. Had such a transaction ever taken place, it would be known at this day. Besides, the English would never have thought of purchasing a city which they knew would be obliged to sur-

surrender. Lastly, Lally would have enjoyed at London the fruit of his treason, and never have come to seek death among his enemies in France. With respect to speculation, as he had not been entrusted with any money belonging to the king, or the company, he could not be charged with the crime.

Abuse of authority, oppressions, exactions, are also vague and equivocal terms, by means of which any court of judicature may condemn to death a general of an army, or a marshal of France. When the life of a person is at stake, both the law and the proof ought to be positive. Generally Lally without doubt transgressed the bounds of authority, in abusing so many brave officers with opprobrious language, in being always deficient in regard, circumspection, and decency; but as there is no laws which enjoins *that every marshal of France, and every general of the army, who is not a man of polite behaviour, shall have his head struck off*, many impartial people were of opinion that it was the parliament that had really abused their authority.

Besides, *exaction* is a word of which the sense is very indeterminate. Lally had never imposed

imposed one farthing of contribution either upon the inhabitants of Pondichery or the council. He did not even demand of the treasurer of the council the payment of his appointment as general: he expected to receive it at Paris, and there he received nothing but death.

We know for certain (if we may call any thing *certain*) that three days after his death, a very respectable man having asked one of the principal judges upon what particular offence the sentence was founded: *there was no particular offence*, replied the judge in plain terms: *it was upon the whole of his conduct put together that the judgment was founded.* This was very true; but a hundred inconsistencies in the conduct of a person in office, a hundred blemishes in his character, a hundred instances of bad humour, all joined together, do not constitute a crime deserving the severest punishment. If it were lawful for soldiers to lift their arms against their general, perhaps he merited death at the hands of some of the officers whom he had grossly affronted, but not of the sword of justice, which knows neither hatred nor anger. We may venture to affirm, that no person

person whatever in the army would have urged the prosecution with so much violence against him, had it been foreseen that their complaints would certainly bring him to the scaffold. On the contrary, they never would have moved any impeachment against him. Such is the character of the French officers.

The sentence of count Lally appears the more severe, as at the time while the process was preparing, the Commissioners appointed by the king to punish the illegal exactions made in Canada by the clerks, had condemned them only to make restitution, to pay a fine, or to banishment. The magistrates of the Chatelet were sensible that in the state of humiliation and despair to which France was reduced at that unfortunate period, having lost her troops, her vessels, her money, her trade, her colonies, her reputation; they could derive no advantage from hanging ten or a dozen culprits, who not being paid their salaries by a government then immersed in debt, had taken a method of paying themselves. No vindictive cabal ever was formed against these persons; but a formidable and unrelenting faction persecuted a single Irishman who seemed to have

have been whimsical, capricious, passionate, jealous of the fortune of others, and like others no doubt attentive to his own interest; no robber, however, but brave, attached to the state, and innocent. It required some time before hatred gave place to compassion. The prosecutors of Lally regretted not his fate till several months had elapsed, when revenge being glutted, the sentiments of justice and pity found access to their hearts.

What contributed the most to re-establish his memory with the public was, that after great enquiry, the fortune which he left was clearly found to be extremely moderate. The sentence expressed, that upon the confiscation of his effects, a hundred thousand crowns should be divided among the poor of Pondichery. The money remaining, after paying his debts, did not amount to this sum. The real poor, whose situation was affecting, were his relations. The king granted them favours which could not repair the misfortune of the family. The greatest favour which they requested was, that if possible the process determined by the old, might be submitted to the review of the new parliament, or that the decision might

might be appealed to a council of war, assisted by the magistrates.

Upon the whole, all judicious and compassionate men were of opinion that the condemnation of general Lally was one of the murders perpetrated with the sword of justice. There is no civilized nation where the laws intended for the protection of innocence have not sometimes served to oppress it. It is a misfortune inseparable from the weakness of human nature. Since the punishment of the Templars, no age has passed in which the judges in France have not committed many of these fatal errors. These judicial iniquities have sometimes been the consequence of absurd and barbarous, and sometimes of the perversion of good laws*.

* The lady of the marechal d'Ancre was accused of sacrificing a white cock to the moon, and burnt as a witch.

The curate Gausfedy was charged with holding frequent conferences with the devil. One of the strongest circumstances in the impeachment of Vanini was, that a great toad had been found in his house, in consequence of which he was declared a forcerer and an atheist.

The Jesuit Girard was accused of bewitching la Cadiere; the curate Grandier of having bewitched a whole convent.

I beg leave here to repeat what I observed upon another occasion, that had the punishment of the greater part of men in office been delayed, scarce one would have been executed. The reason is, that this same human nature, so cruel when enraged, returns to lenity as soon as the heat of passion subsides.

ARTICLE XX.

The destruction of the French India Company.

THE death of Lally did not restore life to the India company: it proved only an useless act of cruelty. If it be a melancholy thing to permit the execution of men even when such a punishment is necessary for the good of the state, how much ought we to refrain from a recourse to the

The old parliament prohibited writing against Aristotle, under pain of being sent to the galleys.

The chamberlain Montecuculi, cupbearer to the Dauphin of France, was condemned as being corrupted by the emperor Charles V. to poison that young prince, because he amused himself a little with chemistry. Similar instances of absurdity and barbarity are innumerable.

penal

penal laws in cases where it exposes us to the reproach of the neighbouring nations?

"This people, they will say, who before were generous and formidable, were at that time dangerous only to those who had served them."

It became afterwards a question much disputed at court, in Paris, in the maritime provinces, among the merchants, and among the ministers, whether they ought to maintain or abandon that jarring body, whose divisions had proved equally pernicious to commerce and to war, and which was composed of members which changed every day. The ministers, who inclined towards the design of taking away its exclusive privilege, employed the pen of Mr. l'abbé Morrelet, who was indeed a doctor of the Sorbonne, but a very intelligent man, of a clear and methodical understanding, more fit for rendering service to the state in important affairs, than to dispute about the metaphysical trifles of the schools. He proved that, considering the state of the company, it was impossible they could have any just claim to the continuance of a privilege which had proved the cause of their ruin. He would also have proved

proved that they ought never to have had such a privilege. This was saying in effect, that the French have, in their character, and too often in their government, some fault which does not admit of their forming great and fortunate associations; for the English, Dutch, and even the Danish company, prospered with their exclusive privilege. It was proved that the several ministers from 1725, to 1769, had supplied the India company, at the expence of the king and the state, with the enormous sum of three hundred and sixty-six millions, without the stockholders ever reaping any profit from the commerce; a fact which cannot be too often repeated.

At length, this phantom of a company, which had filled the nation with such great hopes, was totally annihilated. It had not been able to flourish by all the attention paid to it by cardinal Richelieu, nor by the liberality of Louis XIV, nor that of the duke of Orleans, nor under any of the ministers of Louis XV. A hundred millions would be necessary to give it new existence, and to the loss of these the company would still be exposed. The stockholders and annuitants continued to be paid out of the farm of

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tobacco;

tobacco; so that if this article of trade should cease to be used, a bankruptcy would be unavoidable.

The English company, under better direction, better supported by fleets which commanded the seas, and animated with a more patriotic spirit, has beheld itself raised to the pinnacle of power and glory, the duration of which, however, is very precarious. It also has had its disputes between the stockholders and the government; but these disputes were the quarrels of conquerors, who could not agree about dividing the spoil; while those of the French company have been the complaints and the cries of the vanquished, accusing each other with being the cause of their general ruin.

An attempt was made in the English parliament to strip lord Clive and other officers of the immense riches which they had acquired by their victories. It was insisted that all the treasure was the property of the state, and not to particular persons, as the parliament of Paris seemed before to determine. But there is an infinite difference between the parliament of England and that of Paris, notwithstanding the similarity of their names:

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the one is the constitutional representation of the whole nation, the other a mere court of judicature charged with registering the king's edicts. The English parliament concluded this debate the 24th of May, 1773. How shameful was it, in a free country such as Britain, to demand of lord Clive and so many brave men, the legal reward of their great exploits in India! This meanness would have been as unjust as if they had punished admiral Anson for his success in a voyage round the world. The best method of encouraging men to serve their country, is to permit them to study their own interest at the same time. We see therefore a prodigious difference between the fate of the English Clive and that of the Irish Lally: the one was a conqueror, and the other was vanquished; the former conciliated the affection, the latter brought upon himself the detestation of those with whom he was concerned.

What will yet become of the English company; whether it will establish its power in Bengal, and on the coast of Coromandel, upon as firm a foundation as the Dutch have done at Batavia; or if the warlike Marattas and Patans shall prevail against it; whether

England will continue to rule in India with the same sway as in North America; these are points which can be determined only by time. All we know with certainty at present is, that every thing in the world is subject to change.

SUMMARY OF THE PROCESS
OF THE
COUNT DE MORANGIES,
AGAINST
THE FAMILY OF VERRON.

MANY persons inquisitive after truth of every kind, have been desirous that after the criminal process of count Lally, they might procure a summary of the civil and criminal process, to which the Count de Morangies has been exposed. To gratify those people the following account of that transaction has been written.

The family of Morangies was involved in debts, for the payment of which the count de Morangies was answerable. To discharge this burden he formed a design of cutting down,

down, and selling by retail, a forest in the Gevaudan, of about ten thousand arpents in extent, and of which he had a right to dispose by a public agreement with the creditors of the family. He shewed a draught of this forest signed by a surveyor upon oath: he produced all the necessary writings; but a man who was in debt could with difficulty procure money in Paris to defray the expence of cutting down a forest in the Gevaudan.

He applied to a money-broker. This broker pointed out to him a young man named Dujonquai, said to be of a reputable family, and the son of a rich widow. He had come from the country about a year before, having been for some months with an attorney, and was admitted to the degree of doctor of laws, in consequence of his standing, as has been the case with many magistrates well educated. He was ready to purchase the place of a counsellor of the court of aids, or of the parliament, while the custom yet prevailed of the juridical employment being saleable.

After some conferences, the marshal of the camp comes to the young magistrate to transact bills for three hundred thousand

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livres,

livres, at six per cent. interest. These bills were drawn in a garret where the lender lodged, and of which the whole furniture was three chairs with straw bottoms, and a fir table. The borrower, on seeing this furniture, imagined that he had got into the company of a young exchange broker. He affirms and swears that these bills were drawn with the view of being negociated upon the spot, and that he has not received the value; which ought not to be paid till the affair was concluded, according to the established custom in all commercial cities.

The young man affirms and swears, that the money which he gave the count belongs to his grandmother; that he carried it in a morning, on foot, at thirteen different times; that he had walked about five leagues and a half to oblige the count; though the whole money might have been carried in a hackney coach at once*.

* In this process may be seen a paper belonging to the count de Morangies, dated the 24th September, 1711, in which, amidst several schemes of the loan proposed by Dujonquai (whom he imagined to be a broker) he adopts that of 327000 liv. payable for 300000 in each; and promises to make out the bills of the 327000 liv. including the interest, whenever he shall receive the

He caused these bills to be drawn in favour of lady Verron his grandmother. It is not probable that a man arrived at the years of maturity, would have signed them had he not received the value. But it is yet perhaps more improbable that the grandmother Verron, who lived in a garret with la Romaine, Dujonquai's mother, and three of his sisters, very poorly cloathed, and maintaining herself and all her family upon a small capital let out at interest, could possess the exorbitant sum of three hundred thousand livres in gold.

The family obviated this objection, by saying that the widow Verron, the grandmother, had privately received a great part of this money upwards of thirty years ago, by the hands of a person named Chotard, who died a bankrupt: that her husband, a pretended banker, had secretly given this sum to the stranger Chotard in legacy, upon con-

the money. But Dujonquai pretends that he gave him this money on the twenty-third. It is impossible that the borrower should promise to sign the bills on the twenty-fourth as soon as the money should be brought, which it is said he received the preceding night.

dition of restoring it to her. It is said that the widow secretly improved this capital by means of a notary; that she afterwards took it from this notary, who was then dead; that she carried it privately to Vitri in the remote parts of Champagne, in a cart; that she there sold it privately to some Jews, for valuable diamonds, the price of which amounted to three hundred thousand livres; that she caused this money to be carried privately to Paris in gold, in another cart, belonging to a carrier who is not named *, to a room on the third floor in St. James's-street. And as for me, added Dujonquai, I carried them privately on foot, at thirteen different times, to Mr. de Morangies, to oblige him. I can produce as a witness a coachman, a friend of mine, who is, like myself, ready to draw his sword at any time; and also an old clerk to an attorney, who was at that very time under the care of Menager, the surgeon, for the pox; I have likewise for witnesses my

* It is strange that in the course of this process they never thought of enquiring into the fact relating to this pretended carrier. All the carriers are known, their names are registered. How happens it that no enquiry has been made at Paris and at Vitri!

sisters, who subsist by mantua-making and embroidery work.

He demanded, in the name of Madame Verron, and in his own, that a warrant might be granted for searching the house of count de Morangies, and of his father, a lieutenant-general of the king's forces, for the hundred crowns in gold. This was refused; but the count de Morangies demanded of the magistrate of the police, who had the inspection of all those who lend money upon interest, that they would make enquiry into the affair.

The magistrate deposes the Sieur Dupuis inspector of the police, a prudent man, and well known to be such, who, accompanied with another officer, named Desbruguières, goes to an attorney's house, where they send for Dujonquai and his mother Romain, daughter of the widow Verron. The mother and son being interrogated, separately acknowledged that they had been guilty of falsehood, and that they never had given a hundred thousand crowns to count Morangies. From thence they went to a commissary's, where the parties signed an affidavit, in proof of their guilt. The son said to his mother, *Mother, I have declared*
the

the truth. She answered, *You have spoke the truth, son, and had done better to have declared it sooner.* The commissary, his clerk, and the inspector Dupuis, confirm this declaration, and it is laid over for the trial. The fact being thus asserted and judicially proved, the two guilty persons are brought to the *Fort l'Evêque.* They confirm their declaration in prison *.

Next day Dujonquai wrote to a person who was his counsel, with whom the bills were deposited.

SIR,

“ On account of the unfortunate affair in which I am involved, my dear mother is a prisoner in the Fort l'Evêque. We were arrested yesterday by order of the king. If you will give your assistance towards releasing us, you must be so kind as send by the bearer the effects I left with you, which I have pro-

* This is what count Morangies's advocate reports in his last memoir, intituled, *My Supplement.* If the affair be true, which there is no reason for questioning, it is evident that the Dejonquais are culpable, and the count de Morangies innocent. The process ought to terminate here; a thousand proceedings, a thousand decisions cannot destroy the force of a demonstration.

missed Mr. Dupuis shall be with him by ten o'clock in the morning at farthest. After the promise I have given, I shall be particularly obliged to you if you will send them; and I have likewise to beg that you will stop all prosecution. As soon as we are released, we shall have the honour of returning our thanks for the trouble you have taken.

I have the honour to be,

S I R,

your most humble

and most obedient servant,

Dujonquai."

My dear mother has the honour of assuring you of her respects.

Fort l'Evêque, 1 October, 1771,

And in another letter dated the same day;

S I R,

" If you can bring the answer yourself, you will much oblige me, as well as my dear mother,

Your servant,

Dujonquai."

These

These letters are not more evidently the production of an innocent person, than the stile and orthography are unsuitable to a man who was soon to enter upon the office of a magistrate in a superior court *.

This affair was supposed to be entirely concluded, when an experienced practitioner persuaded the family to disavow their declarations and signatures. Dujonquai and his mother then exclaimed, that Desbruguières had beat them at the attorney's house; that they had been constrained to sign their names at the commissary's only through fear, and that the count de Morangies had corrupted all the police with the view of oppressing them.

The doctor of laws Dujonquai, who knew not one word of Latin, maintained that it was the *metus cadens in constantem virum*, and that he was *constans vir*. I did not beat you, replies Desbruguières: I pushed you, I separated you and your mother, to prevent you from concerting together your answers. I clearly saw your villainy, and it filled me with indignation. You pushed us too rough-

* They are extremely incorrect in the original.

ly, you have broken one of my buttons, replies Dujonquai ; and my mother and I have been so vexed at this transaction, that we signed a declaration of the truth four hours after, being insensible of what we were doing when we were at the commissary's.

Immediately all the usurers in Paris, all the people who live by intrigue, and the whole body of sharpers, who had been for a long time disgusted at the police, poured forth their united clamours against it. They soon were joined by another class. How long shall we suffer this irregular tribunal, which was introduced by Lewis XIV ? Formerly we robbed with impunity. People at that time could become rich either by usury or theft. Paris was an excellent scene for industry. We had a principal robber in good credit, by means of whom the persons robbed could recover their effects, in consideration of a proper sum of money. Every thing was under good regulation. But now things are quite changed : a fatal tribunal, entirely unknown to our fathers, keeps a register of all those who lend money upon usury, and persecutes good men. They have the impudence to tear off the buttons from the coat of a magistrate

gistrate who lends upon usury! All people exclaim, that for some years past the noblesse is nothing but a knot of petty sharpening tyrants, insolent and pusillanimous, who harass the king's good subjects, as much as they injure the state. It is every where reported, that Mr. de Morangies has formed a scheme of paying his creditors by procuring them all to be hanged. It is affirmed in the pleas, it is printed in the memoirs, it is believed by half the city of Paris. One of the advocates who signalizes himself by writing against him, pushes the indecency so far as to calculate the sums which Mr. de Morangies has engaged to give the police.

The count de Morangies, his father the lieutenant-general of the king's forces, a worthy old gentleman, universally beloved and esteemed, his brothers who enjoy the same advantage, in short his whole family, sell all their moveables to defray the expence of carrying on this expensive process: they discharge some pressing debts, they reduce themselves to the greatest and most honourable poverty. The cabal cries out that it is with the money of these Dujonquais that these things have been done; and this infamous

mous imposture is propagated by all the pettyfoggers and usurers in Paris.

The noblesse of Gevaudan wrote a letter in the strongest terms in favour of count Morangies: "it is a letter procured by solicitation, say the mob, it is a conspiracy against the commons."

A celebrated advocate undertakes the defence of the accused without any expectation of reward: all the coffee-houses, all the taverns, all the most infamous places resound with the abuse which they throw upon him. "He is both an impudent scoundrel and a coward; he is a spy of the police." They wanted to render him odious, because some time ago he defended the cause of a general officer, who had defeated and pursued the English in a descent which they made into France, and had risked his life to save the country.

This advocate keeps for his brother and himself one cookmaid and a small carriage. "Can there be a stronger proof that he has shared the hundred thousand crowns with the count de Morangies, and that the police is not without their part?" They bespatter him with libels, they defame him yet more than they insult his client.

During this ferment, they go so far as to assert that the family of Morangies never were in possession of any forest, and had only an old rotten trunk of a tree upon a rock in the Gevaudan. All the despicable faction maintain the falshood; and those who would be reckoned wise immediately spread abroad such remarks as these: "Mr. de Morangies is wrong: how could he think of borrowing money upon a forest which never existed?" They spurned at every argument in his favour; but implicitly believed that a hundred thousand crowns were carried by Dujonquai in a morning, at thirteen different times, travelling five leagues on foot.

A stock-jobber, named Aubourg, finds this claim so valid as to purchase it of the widow Verron, grandmother of Dejonquai, a little before her death, in the same manner as actions are transferred upon the exchange. They cause her to ratify this sale in her testament six hours before she expires; and to give the greater weight to the incomprehensible story of the three hundred thousand livres, they make her declare that she had two hundred thousand livres more, because an abundance of money

Money could do no harm. So that this widow Verron, who had always lived in indigence, dies in the possession of five hundred thousand livres. This was a kind of miracle: the advocates also did not fail to discover in the testament the hand of God, who had in a moment multiplied the riches of the poor, and revealed his glory to the little ones, concealing it from the great.

Aubourg carries the action into the bailiwick of the palace, to which affairs of this sort are remitted in the first instance. The witnesses who depose in favour of Mr. de Morangies are cast into a dungeon. The count de Morangies, marshal of the camp, is dragged to prison, as the suborner of these witnesses, and guilty of an atrocious crime.

All those, however, who can throw any light on so extraordinary an affair are examined. Dujonquai's sisters appear. The judge asks them whether it was not true that their grandmother had a great deal of money when she set out from Paris for the small town of Vitri in Champagne, about the year 1750? They answered, that she had a prodigious large sum, but that they had never seen, nor known any thing of it.

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Yes,

Yes, certainly, she could not be without pins made of diamonds, which at that time were not invented?

Must she not likewise have had fine earrings, valuable rings, and precious egrêts, quite suitable to a young woman of twenty-four years of age?

Yes, Sir; fine aigrêts, and fine bracelets, of a new fashion, replied one of her sisters. Romain, daughter to the widow Verron, and mother to Dujonquai, said on the contrary, that the widow Verron, her mother, had none of all these jewels, and that she did not think that she ever had a diamond in her possession.

The same Romain, mother of Dujonquai, being interrogated, whether all this riches belonging to the widow Verron, did not come into her hands, by a secret disposition made by her husband, and the private generosity of a bankrupt named Chotard? answered No; that such allegations were entirely false.

But, Madam, your advocates have pleaded, and even printed this anecdote. They were in the wrong, she replied.

The judge asked Dujonquai if there was not a hundred thousand crowns in cash in

his garret, amongst the linen of the widow Verron, his grandmother, Yes, Sir, and it was my mother Romain who gave me the key of the place where it lay, when I carried the hundred thousand crowns to Mr. de Morangies, at thirteen different journies upon foot*.

Romain, the mother, answered, that this was not true; that her son Dujonquai took the key out of the hands of la Verron his grandmother.

The witnesses who had been imprisoned upon the allegation of being suborned by Mr. de Morangies, were next examined; when there appeared not the smallest circumstance to support such a charge.

At length sentence was pronounced. This sentence declares, that Mr. de Morangies, who had been imprisoned for suborning witnesses, was perfectly innocent of the charge; and that, of consequence, he shall pay to Dujonquai three hundred thousand livres, which

* If all these contradictions be not admitted to afford incontestible proof of the innocence of Mr. de Morangies, and of a plot the most absurd and ridiculous that ever was contrived, we must hereafter live in absolute scepticism. We must abolish every criterion of truth, and totally renounce any distinction between what is just and unjust.

is the whole capital and interest; besides twenty thousand livres of expences; three thousand to the coachman who had deposed against him, fifteen hundred livres conjunctly with the officers of the police; and all this without one word being mentioned of the usury stipulated by Dujonquai, and punishable by the laws.

And as the judge acknowledged that Mr. de Morangies had been unjustly committed to prison, he ordains that he shall remain in custody; besides being reprimanded and amerced for having dared to deny that a man who was ready to be admitted a counsellor of the court of aids, or of the parliament, had brought to him three hundred thousand livres, at thirteen different times, and had walked five leagues in a morning, when he could have brought that pretended sum in a hackney coach in a quarter of an hour.

This is not all. A poor girl who had borne false witness against Mr. de Morangies, retracts, and confesses her crime. Her father acknowledges the guilt of his daughter: they both intreat forgiveness of God and of justice. They will not be heard. They had not asked pardon of God in time. They are sen-

sentenced to banishment, not for being guilty of perjury, not for having calumniated an innocent person, but for unduly repenting of those crimes.

If this decision of a magistrate can be defended, if Mr. Morangies is guilty, and actually receives a hundred thousand crowns from the hands of a doctor of laws, Dujonquai, all the world must acknowledge with a great and judicious author, that,

The most palpable improbability is sometimes true.

All Paris at this day, all France revolts against this decree. They are persuaded that Mr. Morangies is innocent, and regret the unjust persecution he has suffered, as much as they formerly condemned him. A total change of opinion has now taken place. So fluctuating are the little and great vulgar; such in general is the character of mankind. They have verified the remark of an impartial writer, which is, that Mr. de Morangies might lose his cause, without any imputation against his honour.

From the whole of this strange affair we may conclude, that nothing is frequently more dangerous for the king's officers than to transact any business in a garret.

The person who has most vehemently objected to this sentence is Mr. de Morangies' advocate, who finds in the judgment on which it is founded a multiplicity of palpable contradictions, and incoherent obscurities, which he is determined to expose to the world. The oracles of justice ought always to be clear and consistent. Obscurity and contradiction formerly belonged only to oracles of another kind.

So much has the indignation of this advocate been excited by the conduct of the judges, that he affirms they have acted in direct opposition to the voice of reason and justice: that he considers himself as *Rinaldo* in the enchanted forest, in Tasso, which is infested with monsters: that he is *Curtius* plunged into the gulph to put an end to the public calamity: that his client is *Tantalus* and *Orpheus* in hell; that the judges are the *Furies*; and that he will become the accuser and prosecutor of those flagitious violators of justice.

The seven graduates, who decided this affair in the first instance, say, that they are neither monsters nor furies, nor have been induced to the determination by any error
of

of judgment; that they know as much of the merits of the cause as this advocate who treats them so contemptuously, and loads them with such heavy reproaches: that being totally disinterested in the affair, they gave judgment according to their conscience, and the dictates of their understanding. Here then is a new process between the advocate and the seven judges.

Men who are impartial and judicious say, " Let us not anticipate the decision of the parliament; let us not pronounce rashly concerning so complicated a cause, with which we are perhaps not sufficiently acquainted, as neither we nor the advocates have seen the private writings on the subject. The parliament will judge deliberately upon the fullest information. The members of the parliament are the interpreters of the laws, to whom an inferior tribunal ought to be entirely submissive. They alone have the right of determining between the spirit and the letter of the laws. The balance of justice was invented for no other purpose than to weigh the merit of contending probabilities."

The nations from whom we derive our learning formerly maintained that Themis

was the daughter of Jupiter, but had not the eyes of her father ; that he beheld all things clearly, but she through her veil ; that his knowledge was perfect, but her's was only conjecture. According to that sublime mythology Themis placed her balance and sword in the hands of old men who were void of passions, entirely disinterested, and untainted by vice (not exempted from imperfections), skilful in sounding the heart, and nicely distinguishing between different degrees of probability. Retired from public life, they were never beheld by mankind except when they appeared to accommodate the disputes of contending parties, and restrain their injustice. They mutually assisted each other with their observations, which the purity of their intentions rendered yet more acute. Truth alone was perpetually the object of their researches ; but notwithstanding all the advantages which they possessed for the perfect administration of justice, they often fell into errors ; because they still were but men, and God only is infallible.

Is there the smallest degree of probability in the story of the hundred thousand crowns ?
Do

Do Mr. Morangies's bills afford convincing proof of the falsehood of this pretended transaction? Can there be any case wherein bills, payable to order, for value received, ought to be declared of no validity; and is the present a case of this kind? Do the witnesses, who have given probable evidence in favour of Mr. Morangies, destroy the testimony of those who have deposed to the most improbable circumstances in behalf of Dujonquai? Can we admit the recantation which was not made till after the conviction of perjury?

Shall the attention of a magistrate of the police towards restraining fraud and usury be deemed a violation of the laws? And shall a confession of guilt, repeatedly affirmed five times, be considered as of no weight, because the person who drew such a confession from the criminals was not fully acquainted with the forms of judicial procedure, and suffered himself to be hurried away by his zeal for the administration of justice?

Is a process, commenced and carried on by an unknown person, entitled to as much credit with the judges, as if it were maintained by an honest family of unblemished reputation?

Can a multitude of probable circumstances, amounting to a demonstration, be rendered of no force by the pretended authority of some bills, of which it is evident that the value was never received?

If, on the one side, we consider the various subtleties and subterfuges of a cabal as obscure as violent, and on the other the opinion of a judge of the most respectable authority in France, who thinks it is absolutely certain that the count de Morangies never received the money in question, shall we be guided in our sentiments by the decision of the judge, or by the assertions of the interested party?

In fine, shall Mr. Morangies, whose innocence is at this day maintained by the court, by all men of understanding in Paris, by all the provinces, and all the officers of the army, shall he be declared guilty by the bench?

Let us respectfully wait for the sentence of a parliament, whose decisions have been hitherto supported by the unanimous suffrages of all France.

THE END.



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